THE
NATION

JUNE 13, 1959 . . 25c

Upsala College
Library
East Orange, N. J.

CHAOS IN THE CARIBBEAN

OUR ZIG-ZAG POLICY

Betty Kirk

SHOULD THE POLICE UNIONIZE?

Edmund P. Murray

MERIT PAY FOR TEACHERS

W. L. Gragg

STRONTIUM-90 IN ST. LOUIS

50,000 BABY TEETH

William K. Wyant, Jr.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

The Strauss Affair

Dear Sirs: I am indebted to you for a marked copy of *The Nation* for May 16, 1959, calling my attention to the editorial "In Defense of Mr. Strauss." I find the editorial strangely contradictory. The Admiral "is essentially the representative of big business in the Cabinet," it says at one point, and four sentences later says, "Since he is an indefatigable public servant and has the President's confidence, he must be appointed to something"; et cetera, et cetera.

If he is, in fact, "essentially the representative of big business in the Cabinet," how can he be an "indefatigable public servant"?

JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY

Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

[Judging by letters we have received, a good many *Nation* readers share Senator O'Mahoney's point of view.—ED.]

The ID-Card Case

Dear Sirs: In my article "ID Cards and the N.Y. Police," (*The Nation*, May 30) I wrote that "The parts of the case which challenged the constitutionality of the ID-card procedure, however, were dismissed." Actually, these parts were "withdrawn" rather than "dismissed." After the court ruled that plaintiffs Johnson and Rubenstein be given ID cards, their attorney, Maxwell T. Cohen, withdrew the complaints which challenged the constitutionality of the procedure. As stated in my article, however, he will bring these to test in another case in the future.

DAN WAKEFIELD

New York City

Irritant, Indeed!

Dear Sirs: In your May 8 issue, you carry an article by Richard Schickel entitled "The Parking Irritant." I was gratified that your publication, which I have been reading regularly for many years, is paying attention to the problems of urban environment. But, as an architect and planner, I was less happy to find Mr. Schickel quoting two paragraphs from my writings and ascribing them to Wilfred Owen. The mistake may be excusable, as the quotation is reprinted in Mr. Owen's book, *Cities in the Motor Age* (though I am specifically given credit there). Less excusable is Mr. Schickel's reference to "Ernest Gruen's plan for the redevelopment of downtown Dallas. . . ." My name is Victor Gruen, and the plan is not for downtown Dallas but for downtown Fort Worth.

VICTOR GRUEN

Beverly Hills, Calif.

The Paper Villain

Dear Sirs: David Cort's article, "The Embezzler," which appeared in your April 18 issue, is an excellent treatment of a growing phenomenon of our business life. I am particularly pleased that he emphasized the most important aspect of the nation's financial structure which, unfortunately, seems to be completely ignored by most businessmen. I refer to what I call our paper economy.

The time has passed when any businessman, even the smallest, can safely say at the end of the day that he has had a profit or a loss. Our paper economy, i.e., business conducted through a long series of checks, drafts, vouchers and extensive forms of credit, plus the necessary delegation of authority in our expanding business, lend themselves to the hidden machinations of the clever embezzler.

PHILIP P. LAING
Aetna Casualty and Surety Co.

Hartford, Conn.

Ages of Ossification

Dear Sirs: Dr. Reik's article, "War of the Generations," in your May 16 issue ["Campus Report No. 3"], is open to very serious criticism on many grounds: reducing complex social phenomena to a psychiatric rationale; failing to recognize the apathy and fear existent on campus so aptly described in the four companion articles. I wish to elaborate on another, and one which I feel is more basic.

For years, social science has uncritically accepted the concept that adolescence *is* and *must* be a period of revolt. Freudian and Neo-Freudian psychology has explained this revolt in terms of the inexorable development of bio-psychological energies. Social structure has impact, but adolescent urges are basically seen as the cause of the rebellion. Now I think matters have been stood on their head. That adolescents very often rebel does not mean that they *must*, nor does it mean that the rebellion is caused by internal energies.

Adolescence (and the college student largely falls within this province) is a burgeoning of mental and physical energies. However, it is these very energies which allow the adolescent — for the first time — to view and examine the world for himself. When he revolts (and I know many delinquents who have revolted for similar reasons), it is against

(*Continued on page 544*)

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

525

ARTICLES

528 Merit Pay for Teachers
by W. L. GRAGG

530 Should the Police Unionize?
by EDMUND P. MURRAY

533 Chaos in the Caribbean: Our Zig-Zag Policy
by BETTY KIRK

535 Strontium-90 in St. Louis: 50,000 Baby Teeth
by WILLIAM K. WYANT, JR.

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

538 The Prosecuting Historian
by JACKSON TURNER MAIN

539 The "New Yorker" Hick
by DAVID CORT

539 Anti-Poem (poem)
by DILYS LAING

540 Let's Scare the Russians
by R. C. RAACK

541 Letter from Palermo
by WILLIAM WEAVER

542 Films
by ROBERT HATCH

543 Bread (poem)
by DENISE LEVERTOV

Crossword Puzzle (opp. 544)
by FRANK W. LEWIS

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
Robert Hatch, Books and the Arts

Harold Clurman, Theatre
Maurice Grosser, Art
M. L. Rosenthal, Poetry
Lester Trimble, Music

Alexander Werth, European Correspondent

Mary Simon, Advertising Manager

The Nation, June 13, 1959. Vol. 188, No. 24

The Nation, published weekly (except for omission of four summer issues) by The Nation Company and copyright 1959, in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $8, Two years $14, Three years $20. Additional postage per year, Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1959
VOLUME 188, No. 24

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

Patriotism Is Not Enough

It scarcely matters whether the President used the term "munitions lobby" in a discussion with a group of Senators: even high school freshmen know the lobby exists. One of its most patriotic branches is the aircraft-missiles industry. Of course, patriotism is not enough; they want money too, and lots of it. They are getting it in the billions, but as they see it, they aren't keeping enough of it, hence their groans in the press and before Congressional committees. Just now their grievances center on the incentive-type contract and renegotiation. Modern weapons systems are so complex that the government rarely knows what it is ordering, much less what the system and its sub-systems should cost. The ingenious solution is to arrive at an estimate of the cost; any subsequent reduction achieved by the contractor will accrue 80 per cent to the government and 20 per cent to the contractor. This seems fair enough, especially as an overrun will result in a 20 per cent penalty for the contractor. Only it never works out that way. What actually happens was explained to the House Ways and Means Committee by Rep. Martha W. Griffiths (D.-Mich.), who worked for four years during World War II as a negotiator for the Ordnance District in Detroit. "This incentive pay is not incentive pay," Mrs. Griffiths declared. "It is an incentive to increase the cost of the contract in order to get more profit when you reduce the costs."

But then comes ole debil Renegotiation Board and tries to recapture the profits which the contractor has earned by padding his costs in the first place. Rep. Cecil King (D.-Calif.), whose district includes Douglas Aircraft, North American, Lockheed, and others on which the survival of the nation depends, came to the aid of his hard-pressed constituents with amendments to the Renegotiation Act which would exempt certain profits and incentive payments from renegotiation. Mrs. Griffith's objections were of no avail. Rep. Carl Vinson (D.-Ga.), who is even more experienced in the ways of defense contracting, had no better success. He noted that the General Accounting Office had uncovered $30 million in excessive costs in a study of fourteen Air Force contracts picked at random, resulting in over $6 million in added incentive profits. "Isn't it frightening to contemplate how much may *not* be discovered?" Mr. Vinson asked, but the House passed the bill without a record vote. Mr. Vinson pointed out that the government has invested over $1 billion in seven giant aircraft companies — the three represented by Mr. King plus Boeing, Martin, Temco and Grumman — and is now appealing to the Senate Finance Committee to reverse the action of the House.

Since the President seems to be aware that there is a munitions lobby and has often expressed his solicitude for the unfortunate taxpayer, it would seem that he might say a few well-chosen words on this subject, even at the risk of further offending the "munitions lobby."

The Great Conspiracy

Selected Publications is a biweekly listing of current government documents and other publications, issued by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office. Among many prosaic listings in the May 29, 1959, issue, one item glitters like a diadem in a pile of rubble:

> *60-L.* EFFORTS BY COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY TO DISCREDIT THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION AND ITS DIRECTOR.
> A series of articles documented by Edward J. Mowery, Pulitzer Prize journalist, from the Newark (N. J.) *Star-Ledger*, February 1-9, 1959, 27 pp. Catalog No. 86-1; S. Doc. 23. 15c.

The Mowery articles were prepared with the cooperation of the FBI and the warm endorsement of J. Edgar Hoover as a more or less "official" reply to Fred J. Cook's evaluation of the bureau which appeared in *The Nation* last fall. It is not every day that a series of newspaper articles is reprinted as a pamphlet at public expense by a government agency, which then lists the pamphlet in the widely read *Selected Publications*, catalogues it as a government document, distributes it and, in the process, jazzes up the title (*Selected Publications'* billing of the series as "Efforts by Communist conspiracy to discredit the FBI and its Director" should be compared with the original billing as given in the *Star-Ledger*: "The intensive campaign now in full swing against the FBI").

Frankly, it had never occurred to us to submit Mr. Cook's article to the Superintendent of Documents for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

publication; we are now happy to do so. The moment seems especially auspicious, since Mr. Cook has just received the Page One Award of the Newspaper Guild of New York for the article as "the best magazine feature writing" of 1958. The award is itself a cachet of distinction, but the composition of the jury that made the selection — Edward W. Barrett, Dean of the School of Journalism, Columbia University; Louis Lyons, Curator of the Nieman Foundation at Harvard; and A. J. Liebling of *The New Yorker* — adds to it a special luster.

Incidentally, we are still very much in the dark as to the identity of those with whom we are supposed to have "conspired" to discredit — that is, to question the infallibility of — the Director of the FBI. In the wake of the appearance of Mr. Cook's article in *The Nation*, the New York *Post* announced that it would soon publish a series of articles on the FBI, and thus seemed a prospective co-conspirator, at least; but the series has not appeared. But perhaps those, including Senator John Butler, Cardinal Cushing of Boston and Mr. Preston Moore of the American Legion, who charged that Mr. Cook's prize-winning article was part of a "conspiracy" will now want to retract. If they don't, we can only conclude that our co-conspirators now include the jurors who chose Mr. Cook for the Page One Award, as well as the Newspaper Guild of New York, in whose name it was made.

The Unchanging Soviets

Poor Heraclitus! He taught that everything is in a state of flux, but then he never had a chance to study the Soviet Union. That remains immutable, the same yesterday, today, and forever, no matter whether its statesmen snarl or smile, hypocritically attend the funerals of our statesmen or callously stay away, talk peace or nuclear war, or remain silent. Their victims, the people of Russia, are cowed or rebellious. And yet, even while we cling to this forty-year-old image of the enemy, our own emissaries tell us that it is becoming a caricature. W. Averell Harriman, surely no Russia-lover, reports from Moscow that where "formless bundles of shabby black coats" once plodded the streets, now one sees "neatly dressed women in bright clothing, their hair carefully brushed and their faces made up." And men in business suits that might have come from Seventh Avenue. Everybody talks freely, and Harriman can go wherever he likes. He goes, and can't find any labor camps. Khrushchev says they have been abandoned, explaining that while there are still people in prison for crimes such as robbery, nobody wants to use them on construction projects because their labor productivity is low. Harriman visits one of these institutions and finds, in addition to barbed wire and guard towers, schools, a jazz band, athletic fields and a diet of 3,600 calories a day. The prisoners look tanned and healthy. In some ways, they appear to be better off than our own prisoners. The rights and duties of the inmates are listed on placards, and among the rights are unlimited correspondence with families, to receive visitors, and to employment under the same working conditions and at the same pay as free citizens. Outside of the prisons, Harriman found that the chief problem is alcoholism which, though deplorable, is scarcely a menace to international peace.

But how strange! Instead of church bells ringing, holidays proclaimed in all the fifty states, and citizens embracing one another in the streets at this sign that the enemy is becoming human, Harriman's relatively rosy reports went almost unnoticed. Can it be that we really don't want our enemies to better themselves, either morally or materially? "While the light holds out to burn, the vilest sinner may return," the hymn proclaims. It doesn't exempt Russians.

The Taint of Madness

Before he was flown to Texas for a period of enforced rest, Governor Earl Long of Louisiana offered the state legislature a terse description of his qualifications to hold office:

> I have the experience to be Governor. I know how to play craps. I know how to play poker. I know how to get in and out of the Baptist Church and ride horses. I know the oil and gas business. I know both sides of the street.

That has the ring of truth learned in battle. Governor Long has been declared temporarily deranged, and certain of his other public statements tend to support the diagnosis. But standing by itself, the above description of a successful American politician is as pungent and lucid as it is frank. The taint of madness lies, of course, in the frankness.

Funny Business in France

Paris

Strange things have been going on in France in the last few weeks. A fortnight ago, *L'Express* published excerpts of a fifteen-page circular sent to thousands of army officers by a self-styled clandestine "Resistance" organization. In this document, de Gaulle is treated as an "old and enfeebled man surrounded by a gang of traitors" who are preparing to "sell out Algeria and stab the French Army in the back." Even official army leaders are saying queer things. According to Marshal Juin, General Massu and General Challe (the latter the Commander-in-Chief in Algeria), the Army of France must now "regiment" the entire nation for a coming "great showdown between East and West." They say: "We are now forging an army which will fight on a front stretching perhaps all the way from Brest to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Urals. . . . We must have atom bombs as quickly as we can get them."

Nobody takes seriously this threat to conquer Russia. But behind the bluster there is something serious. Thus, Marshal Juin maintains that although de Gaulle won't use the word "integration" in Algeria, he means "integration"; i.e., no home rule of any kind. And thoughtful people refuse to take lightly the reference to "regimenting" France, which obviously means the crushing, by the army, of all opposition and all criticism.

Obviously, there are secret networks functioning in the army, and others outside; are they, under cover of the general political inertia in France, preparing some funny business? Two weeks ago, an Algerian lawyer who had defended the would-be assassins of Soustelle, was murdered on the streets of Paris just as he was about to show up police tortures in the case of thirteen Algerian students arrested here.

De Gaulle has not reacted one way or the other, not even to the provocative explanation of the army's political philosophy. Optimists still hope that he will reach a settlement in Algeria and submit it, despite army protests, to a referendum in France (in which case, 90 per cent of Frenchmen, sick and tired of the Algerian war, would approve it). Pessimists say the Premier won't dare go against the army leaders. The question widely asked here today is whether de Gaulle is really "enfeebled," or is merely marking time and perhaps preparing a bigger surprise than the extremists are bargaining for. Meanwhile, a complicated struggle for power is going on among virulent Fascist influences, which seems to be spreading from Algeria to France. So far, the "liberal monarchy" of de Gaulle looks on in glum quiet.

ALEXANDER WERTH

The Fervor of the Faithful

There is a disposition on the part of Yankee editors to laugh in print at the public-spirited Southerners who have recently been inveighing against children's books in which small animals are portrayed in color. *The Rabbits' Wedding*, which shows a black bunny marrying a white bunny, has been swept from the public shelves of the Alabama libraries, and in Dade County, Florida, a real-estate operator named David Hawthorne has detected "brainwashing" in the fact that his edition of *The Three Little Pigs* allows only a black pig to survive the wolf's stratagems; the white porker and the spotted — or, as Mr. Hawthorne says, mulatto — ones get eaten.

As we see it, Mr. Hawthorne and his friends in Alabama have taken a perfectly correct and, in fact, the only possible stand. The theory that color is a bar between persons is an article of faith, unsupported by anything but the pure fervor of the faithful. Once you allow a crack of doubt to enter, once you allow a black rabbit to so much as wag its ears at a white rabbit, you threaten the whole edifice. If a dusky pig is shown as more skillful at eluding the wolf than an albino pig, the inference is plain that in the animal kingdom wit is not a function of color. We are animals, are we not, and in any case it is notorious that fairy-tale animals are only human beings in roguish disguise.

It is unfair to laugh at the segregationists for the inflexibility of their creed. Inflexibility is all they have.

Yesterday's Hero

In a formal ceremony in the Department of Justice recently, Attorney General William P. Rogers, speaking in the name of the federal government, asked public forgiveness from thousands of American citizens of Japanese descent — 72,000, to be fairly exact — who were compelled to move from their West Coast homes during World War II and were then detained in so-called "relocation centers." Final restitution had been made for what has been accurately characterized as one of the most flagrant denials of Constitutional rights in our history, and a statement of penance was now fitting. "Americans must discipline themselves," said Mr. Rogers, "to resist hysteria and emotional stress in times of alarms and danger in order that American ideals of justice may not yield, but be protected and successfully maintained." The words were well-chosen, the sentiment impeccable. But these same words will have an ironic connotation to the few non-Japanese West Coast residents who had the courage in 1942 to resist, in public statements and public actions, the harsh relocation measure.

Not more than a half-dozen Californians can be included in this honorary, if anonymous category, and not one of them was present when the ceremonies were observed in Mr. Roger's office. Among those who should have been there was Lou Goldblatt, secretary-treasurer of the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. In 1942 neither the labor movement as a whole, nor the C.I.O., nor Mr. Goldblatt's own union took a stand against the mass evacuation. But Mr. Goldblatt did. And Mr. Goldblatt could have been present at the Washington ceremony since the Japanese Government had just denied him a visa to attend an international dockworkers' convention in Tokyo; some Japanese bureaucrat, it seems, discovered that Goldblatt had once been asked to leave Great Britain, where he had gone to observe a London dockworkers' strike. The experience should have an exhilarating effect on Mr. Goldblatt; he now knows, if he did not before, the strange rewards that time metes out to those who take courageous positions on important social issues before the issues have been resolved and before the historians have turned in their verdict.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MERIT PAY FOR TEACHERS . . *by W. L. Gragg*

IT IS JUST possible that opposition to merit pay for teachers has been made a dogma of American education. If we confine our reading to publications of the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO), or a number of lesser professional organizations for teachers, we are led to believe that merit pay (a) won't work, (b) serves as a lever for reducing teachers' salaries, (c) leads to apple-polishing and favoritism in teacher-administrator relationships, and (d) lowers teacher morale.

Unfortunately, most of the literature in support of merit pay has been written by people outside the teaching profession. This renders it suspect by teachers, who — like other groups — resent outside pressures and imposed practices. Likewise — and even more unfortunately — most of the talk on both sides is coming from self-appointed experts who profess without benefit of first-hand experience. Teachers who never tried a merit-pay system don't want it, and know it won't work; taxpayers who never tried it think it will cure all the ills of education. Both are wrong, of course.

LET US LOOK at some arguments which support merit pay for teachers by starting with three hypotheses:

First, some teachers perform better than others — they are more effective in developing skills, attitudes, knowledge and values among children than other teachers.

Second, this difference in quality of teaching is recognized not only by school administrators but also by parents, pupils and citizens — even perhaps by other teachers.

Third, since teaching is a profession, reward for professional service should be commensurate with the value of service rendered, or, simply, more pay for better teaching.

Why should we relate salary to service? First, it is a means of assuring higher salaries for more teachers. School boards cannot and will not pay a poor teacher, or even an average one, what good teachers are worth. They are willing to pay most teachers more money only if they have the assurance that teachers are performing effectively. Put it another way: if we insist on paying the man who does the most inferior job just as much as we pay the man who does the best job, then we must set our sights with respect to salary schedules on what the *least* among the workers is worth. In Ithaca, New York, a teacher with a bachelor's degree may count on top earnings of $6,000 a year by doing a passable job. But he can count on $7,400 if his service is of a quality that rises above the pedestrian. If Ithaca had not agreed to follow a merit program, the top salary for its teachers today would have been $6,000 instead of $7,400.

In Scarsdale, New York, a merit-pay plan permits a teacher with four years of training to go to $9,000. Comparable salaries are obtained in Barrington and Glencoe, Illinois; in Grosse Pointe, Michigan; Ladue, Missouri; and West Hartford, Connecticut, all of which follow variations of the incentive-pay idea.

One may say, "Yes, but some of these districts are wealthy. They can afford to pay high salaries." And I would reply, "If they can afford to pay high salaries to all, why would they bother to place any ceilings on the schedule?" The reason is clear. No district is so wealthy that it is willing to squander its tax resources by paying an unreasonable salary to any employee. By the same token, no district is so poor that it has the right to hold back its able teachers, or drive them off to better-paying school systems. I am happy that teachers can move to better opportunities, but I feel sorry for Johnny who is stuck with a school which thinks it can't afford to recognize superior teaching.

DOES merit rating insure good schools or does it lead to deterioration? That is a fair question. Glencoe, Grosse Pointe and West Hartford public schools are recognized as among the best in the country. On the other hand, I know of no inferior school system that employs merit rating. Granted that merit rating alone is not a guarantee of good education and that there are many factors which go into the making of good schools, I still submit that there is a clear and positive relationship between educational quality and teachers' salaries based on merit.

CLOSELY related to the argument that merit pay means better pay for more teachers is the argument that salary tied to service wins public acceptance. This is self-evident. One of the reasons educators have been so wary of merit plans in the past is that the public not only accepts the idea, it sometimes tries to cram it down the teachers' throats. I will not defend such tactics, but I refuse to throw the baby out with the bath water and condemn the merit principle. I merely state the point as evidence of public willingness, sometimes overzealousness, to adopt a salary program which recognizes and rewards quality.

Opponents of merit-pay plans are justified in condemning imposition of schedules which do not have the acceptance of teachers. They are not justified, however, in condemning either the principle involved or the public *en masse* just because the public believes teacher-pay ought to be based on sound economic principles. I hardly need ask the question: does it matter what the public wants? The American public school belongs to the people. We educators are the first to say so; it is our theme song. A public sympathetic to a teacher-pay plan which recognizes quality is a public sympathetic to other expenditures for good schools —more textbooks, better laboratory equipment, pupil personnel services, and reasonable teacher work-loads. I can illustrate this merely by pointing back to the same schools I named above—Glencoe, Grosse Pointe, West Hartford—for evidence of school districts with low pupil-teacher ratio, classes for gifted as well as retarded children, well-developed guidance programs and other elements of a superior school system. These good

W. L. GRAGG is Superintendent of Schools in Ithaca, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

schools are the product of an informed, interested, public—the people who pay the bill.

A third argument for merit pay—one which may come as a surprise to most opponents—is that it is more democratic and more equitable than an automatic schedule. In our desire to be fair to all teachers, we are easily misled into the conclusion that a single salary schedule, equal pay for equal service in terms of years in the job, is a fair schedule. We must certainly admit that such a plan is simple to administer. It is also one which provides security for the mediocre and the lazy teacher. Not only is this system morally wrong as an expenditure of public funds; even more damaging is its effect on teachers who have the potential and the ambition for real growth. Much has been said about the morale effect on teachers of pay plans which permit some to gain higher incomes than others. This, of course, is the cry of the mediocre teacher. Is it not conceivable that the *good* teacher sometimes feels resentment when he sees a colleague getting the same pay for doing half the job?

NOT everything about an automatic salary schedule is bad. One of its saving graces is the tendency for teachers to grow as they continue in service. In most cases, a second-year teacher performs better than a beginner, and a third-year teacher performs still better. And this process should continue for eight or ten years, as shown in studies of teaching competence related to experience. But teachers are just like other people (and somewhat like the pupils they teach): not all of them grow at the same rate, nor do all of them ultimately settle on the same plateau. It is only through a realistic appraisal of this fundamental fact that we can provide an equitable solution to the problem. And the solution lies in a salary schedule which embraces the principle of equal reward for equal service. In fairness to teachers and taxpayers, we must take the next step in the evolution of teachers' salaries by recognizing merit. We must be forthright in recognizing differences among teachers just as teachers recognize differences among pupils, litigants recognize differences among lawyers, and people with toothaches among dentists.

There is an even more important argument for merit rating—the question of incentive. Incentive is a most interesting word. Webster tells us it is synonymous with "motive," "stimulus" or "spur." Merit rating when tied to salary becomes an incentive to professional improvement, a stimulus for greater service, a spur to excellence.

AUTOMATIC salary schedules were a vast improvement over the chaos of the individual bargaining practices which prevailed fifty years ago. But its limitations have been recognized for a number of years, and pioneers have moved into a third stage. That the majority of school districts still cling to automatic schedules is not surprising. Paul Mort's theory of educational lag, which points out that it takes at least a half-century for a new educational idea to gain wide acceptance, provides sufficient explanation.

It is precisely the need to consider the incentive element which makes merit-pay plans the logical third stage of development. It is unfair to teachers to say that tenure and single-salary schedules grew out of anything other than an effort to overcome obstacles to higher status and greater reward, both as a means of providing a fair income for those already in the profession and as a means of attracting more young people into teaching. But the value of automatic scheduling stops right there. It fails to provide the teacher any incentive to grow. It fails utterly to place a premium on quality so that mediocrity can be recognized for what it is: an abomination both to our children and to the teaching profession.

Some people will argue: "You say merit pay is an incentive for improvement, but can you prove it?" Others will argue: "Aren't you just trying to favor a few and hold costs down by declaring the vast majority of the staff to be inferior?" Others, quite to the point, will ask, "Don't you discourage teachers who fail to receive merit increments and make them bitter and even less effective?" If it were not possible to give positive answers to these questions, I not only wouldn't be willing to argue for merit pay; I wouldn't even be willing to stay in a school district which has been administering a merit program for over ten years.

In the first place, there is no reason to set up an incentive plan which rewards only the top few or the top 10 per cent. It can and should be a program wherein the rewards are attainable by all. And in the second place, I have yet to know of an instance where the failure of any teacher in our system to receive an earned pay increment has resulted in bitterness or discouragement. During the decade of its operation, the Ithaca plan has not accounted for a single case of teacher turnover.

WHAT happens is quite the opposite. After an initial period of disappointment, injured vanity, and sometimes coolness toward the department head, the principal and the superintendent, the unhappy victim begins to take stock of himself. Now, of course, I can only conjecture what goes on in his mind, but the outward manifestations are plain enough. He usually signs up for a refresher course at some college (often this is his first return to a campus in twenty years). Next, he begins to talk over his teaching problems with fellow teachers and supervisors. He sometimes arrives earlier in the morning and even stays at his desk after school, instead of vying with the pupils to see who can be first through the door at the bell. He pays particular attention to the items on the evaluation report in which his rating is lowest. If it is in the area of pupil self-discipline, he finds out how he can get the class to work *with* him instead of *for* him. If it is in the area of staff activities, he begins to help the other members of the curriculum committee of which he has been, up to this time, only a nominal member. With it all, and through it all, he begins to find that the supervisors and administrators are there to help him, and he begins to want and use that help. In several instances, his transformation in a year or two—even after a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

number of years of lethargic performance—has been amazing.

The merit system provides incentive for the teachers' supervisors as well. Evaluation provides not only the opportunity, but the absolute necessity, for each person responsible for teacher growth to do his job and do it well. It becomes a point of concern for each principal that all his teachers earn merit increases. The principal knows that he must help the teacher, and the annual evaluative conference between them turns out to be a meaningful and valuable experience. With formal evaluation, supervision becomes a vital force in improving education.

The case for merit pay is not open and shut. Not every attempt to use it has succeeded. At best, it has limitations and disadvantages. And above all, it takes infinite patience on the part of the school board and community on the one hand, the teaching staff and administration on the other, to give it a fair trial.

School districts contemplating a change in teacher-pay scales would do well to heed some advice: (1) Develop a scale locally, in terms of local needs and resources; don't adopt a plan just because it works in Ithaca or San Diego; (2) involve classroom teachers in studying the problems, establishing evaluative criteria and framing administrative structure; don't leave the whole thing to the school superintendent and the local manufacturers' association; (3) synchronize the adoption of a merit-pay plan with a general raise in teachers' salaries; if you want to try merit, you should plan to add at least $1,000 to your present top classroom teacher salary.

The fact that merit-pay programs are still relatively uncommon is overshadowed by the fact that a large number of communities are taking a good look at their possibilities. The professional teacher organizations are pressing for salaries in excess of $10,000. Taxpayers are tightening the grip on their purses. Discrimination in the payment of salaries is an inevitable outgrowth of these two forces. The results should be interesting.

SHOULD THE POLICE UNIONIZE?.. *Edmund P. Murray*

THE GRUFF advances of Jimmy Hoffa have planted the kiss of death on the fond aspirations for trade-union organization among thousands of policemen throughout the nation. A Gallup poll taken in the wake of Hoffa's ill-advised attempt at organizing "New York's Finest" into the Teamsters Union showed 55 per cent opposed to police unionization, 27 per cent for and 18 per cent undecided. The results are hardly surprising in view of the fears conjured up by the prospect of a police union presided over by Hoffa, and the public's general ignorance of the purposes and practices of AFL-CIO police unions in numerous communities throughout the country.

After Hoffa tried to capitalize on the labor-management strife in New York's Police Department, Commissioner Stephen P. Kennedy had no trouble making the point that police shouldn't be unionized because labor leaders are corrupt. Very quickly, however, Kennedy found himself confronted with strong evidence that his own police were already somewhat tainted — and without Hoffa's aid. Within a two-month period, a patrolman was arrested for holding up a cab driver; three inspectors were demoted for shaking down bookmakers; a patrolman was indicted in the rape-murder of a sixty-year-old woman; two others were charged with extortion; a Kings County grand jury summoned twenty-six members of the police morals squad in an investigation of police graft; three patrolmen were accused of trying to burglarize a Fifth Avenue store, and a retired sergeant, arrested for drunken driving, was unwilling to explain his possession of nearly $20,000 in cash, $16,000 in bank book listings and 200 pieces of paper that looked suspiciously like policy slips.

Kennedy has diverted public attention from the causes of corruption in his department by raising the union scare and calling for still more discipline. At the same time, he has used the corruption scare to strengthen his hand in his battle against what he views as a threat to his departmental authority.

Under the administrative setup in most police departments, New York's included, top officials enjoy a virtual immunity with respect to their "labor" policies; i.e., the manner in which they handle personnel problems. And this immunity will continue as long as employees are denied collective representation and the right to appeal grievances. The Patrolmen's Benevolent Association and the Superior Officers Council in New York have urged the adoption of a grievance procedure patterned on labor-management practice in industry and on plans adopted for city employees, including police, in other communities. The very suggestion of such a move, which falls far short of full unionization and is even farther from unionization under Hoffa, has undermined discipline to such an extent, Kennedy insists, that corruption was the inevitable result — a curious instance of blaming the disease on the proffered medicine.

Hoffa's attempt to organize the New York police played right into the Commissioner's hands. Nothing could have been more shrewdly designed to convince the average citizen of the perils of unionizing the police. Yet, ironically, this development came hard on the heels of a period of rapid expansion in police-union organization. An estimated 10,000

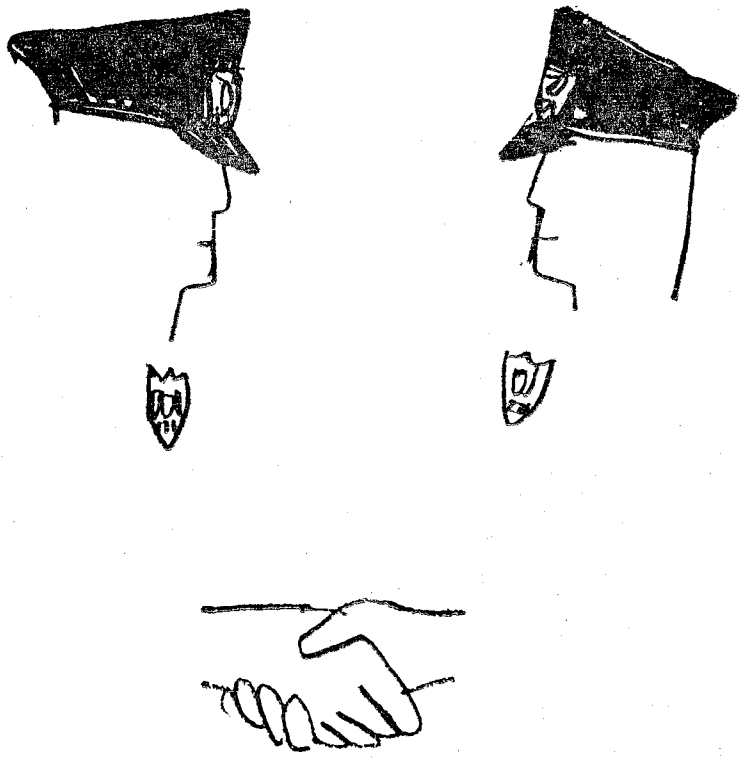
EDMUND P. MURRAY, former newspaperman, has covered police beats in several cities and was for three years labor editor of the Bridgeport (Conn.) Herald.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

policemen in sixty-five cities and towns are now represented by unions, according to a current AFL-CIO estimate. Some of these, however, have not yet been recognized. Last year, a bulletin of the International Association of Police Chiefs listed fully operative and recognized unions in thirty-three communities [see table on next page]. In addition, Police Benevolent Associations and similar groups in other cities have fulfilled some, at least, of the functions of a union.

The New York policeman need go no further than Connecticut to see how successfully a *bona fide* police union can be organized when the need for union representation is strongly felt.

Bridgeport Police Local 1159, an affiliate of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, has furnished the spark plug for organizing drives in several nearby towns, including Milford and Danbury. These have been strictly grass-roots movements carried out with little or no help from the international union. They were accomplished despite the opposition of chiefs of police, who are no less adamant in their hostility to unionization than Commissioner Kennedy.



NOT ONLY have these Connecticut policemen proved they can achieve union recognition, but they have also proved that opponents of police unionization are wrong when they allege that unions will interfere with the impartial enforcement of the law and, in any case, will not do the average policeman any good. Kennedy has taken this position and the International Association of Chiefs of Police recently published a pamphlet that reached the same conclusions.

Bridgeport and New Haven have had strong police locals in operation for several years. Both locals are headed by sergeants and count among their loyal supporters nearly all the younger captains.

While neither local need be ashamed of its militancy in trade-union matters, neither has ever shown any hesitancy about cracking down on violations of the law by union officials or members. New Haven provided a conspicuous example of this last year. The New Haven Labor Council, with which the police local is affiliated, was conducting weekly bingo games at its Labor Temple. Bingo is illegal in Connecticut. Some months ago, the police vice squad raided the bingo game and arrested four of the top officers of the Labor Council, all of whom are substantial citizens involved in many civic affairs. The raid was planned well in advance. Nothing would have been easier than a tip-off to the officers of the Labor Council from one of the members of the raiding party. Yet, though every member of the vice squad is also a member of the police union, the raid was carried out with a perfection that proved embarrassing to scores of city officials who were friendly with the arrested men.

Members of the Bridgeport police local have also proved themselves capable of enforcing the law in cases involving their brethren in other unions. Police quelled picket-line disturbances during two bitter industrial strikes in 1955, in both cases receiving expressions of thanks from the plant managements. There have been no significant picket-line battles in Bridgeport since.

Although the chiefs of police in both Bridgeport and New Haven would be much happier if the unions did not exist (they might also be happier if civil service did not exist), neither has ever maintained that union allegiance has interfered with the fair and full enforcement of the law. Furthermore, the nature of the complaints that have been made against police unions casts some doubt on the charge that they are of no benefit to their members.

Police departments are notorious for working their members overtime without pay, or even compensatory time off, in emergencies. Another time-honored department practice is the disciplining of police officers who fall down on the job, or who simply get in the chief's hair, by bouncing them out of attractive jobs. Other officers, who win the chief's favor by meritorious or merely meretricious methods, are boosted into the vacated spots. Police-union vigilance and civil-service standards have put an end to demotion without a fair hearing and promotion without fair competition.

Police officials, harried by public indignation over police corruption, often resort to the "shakeup" as a means of satisfying public demands for action. Often this involves the transfer of policemen who are guiltless of any wrong, with disastrous effects on morale. The shakeup does

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nothing to get at the root of the problem. If the transferred police are suspected of having taken bribes from gamblers, as was the case in the recent shakeup of the Harlem division of the New York police force, the still unprosecuted gamblers will be waiting to bribe the new men in the precinct. And the new men, knowing that in any fresh scandal the innocent will suffer with the guilty, have little incentive to resist temptation. Too often the shakeup is used to cover up an inability, or an unwillingness, to bring due process of law to bear on police corruption. By insisting on due process, police unions tend to restrict the use of the shakeup.

THE constitution of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees prohibits strikes by police locals. But the strike is a much overrated weapon in the layman's concept of the labor movement arsenal. Persuasion and the appeal to public opinion or arbitration are the primary weapons of all responsible unions. While arbitration is generally denied to police unions, locals such as those in Bridgeport and New Haven have worked wonders with persuasion and appeals to public opinion.

New Haven city employees, for example, now enjoy a grievance procedure comparable to that followed in strongly unionized industries. The police local, working in close harmony with unions of other municipal workers, deserves much of the credit.

The Bridgeport local, again working with other municipal employees' unions, recently spearheaded a petition drive to demonstrate public support for a wage study which called for impressive salary hikes for city employees. The brief but concentrated drive netted close to 18,000 signatures, equaling the total gathered in a petition campaign for a new high school which had been carried on with the aid of virtually every civic, service and labor organization in the city. The net result was a wage improvement for all municipal workers — without a strike.

Bridgeport's Firefighters Local 834, AFL-CIO, has also proved itself as an effective union. The firemen wanted their work-week reduced from fifty-six to forty-two hours. A petition campaign enabled them to get a referendum on the ballot in the 1957 municipal election. Both major candidates for mayor that year — the Socialist incumbent and his successful Democratic challenger — opposed the forty-two-hour week. After months of strenuous electioneering carried on by the firefighters' local, the referendum passed by an overwhelming majority.

Evasions of civil-service standards are common in many cities, but not in Bridgeport — thanks chiefly to unionized policemen who enforce civil-service law as vigorously as they do criminal laws. Alleged violations have been fought all the way to the State Supreme Court in some of the most prolonged and complex legal tangles in recent Connecticut history. Even though it has lost some battles, the police local has won the war to preserve a strong civil-service law which brought an end to a long era of municipal corruption and inefficiency in Bridgeport. And issues that have been lost on one battlefield have often been rewon on another.

All of the successful police and firemen's unions with which I am familiar were established by the men themselves, with little aid from that favorite villain of all employers, the outside organizer. It's doubtful that Hoffa, even were his reputation unsullied and his jurisdiction unquestionable, could have organized the New York police into a successful union. Only the New York police themselves can do that. Their chances of doing so have been hampered by Hoffa's disastrous offer to do the job for them. But the growth of police unionism suffered another setback, at least in the opinion of the leaders of most of the existing police locals, even before Hoffa appeared on the scene.

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) is neither a very big nor a very wealthy union. Its dues are low. It does not benefit from union-shop provisions. Consequently, it cannot afford a large staff. The police locals in the AFSCME want to break away and form their own international union. They are convinced that an international with a specific identity as a police union would be far more attractive to potential members, and could serve policemen better, than the amorphous AFSCME. They point to the Firefighters Union, which has been a separate international for nearly half a century, as justification for their demand. But last year AFL-CIO President George Meany ruled that the police could not have a separate union unless the AFSCME was willing to let them go. The AFSCME voted down such a proposal at its last convention.

THAT THE march of policemen into the house of labor has been slowed may be more of a public loss

Police Unions

Following is a list of police unions which, according to an August, 1958, bulletin of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, have won recognition by an appropriate city authority:

TOWN	YEAR ORG.	MEMBERS
San Jose, Cal.	1954	All Ranks
Santa Clara, Cal.	1954	Up to Chief
Denver, Col.	1941	All Ranks
Pueblo, Col.	1952	Up to Capt.
Bridgeport, Conn.	1950	All Ranks
Easthaven, Conn.	1955	Up to Lieut.
Hamden, Conn.	1955	Patrolmen
Hartford, Conn.	1941	All Ranks
Meriden, Conn.	1956	Up to Capt.
Milford, Conn.	1955	Up to Lieut.
Naugatuck, Conn.	1954	Up to Capt.
New Britain, Conn.	1949	Up to Chief
New Haven, Conn.	1945	All Ranks
Alton, Ill.	1953	All Ranks
Aurora, Ill.	1952	All Ranks
Belleville, Ill.	1954	All Ranks
Bloomington, Ill.	1953	All Ranks
E. St. Louis, Ill.	1953	Up to Chief
Elgin, Ill.	1954	All Ranks
Joliet, Ill.	1943	All Ranks
Flint, Mich.	1941	Up to Insp.
Lansing, Mich.	1955	Patrolmen
Muskegon, Mich.	1955	Patrolmen
Muskegon Hts., Mich.	1956	Up to Sgt.
Duluth, Minn.	1950	Up to Exec.
Hopkins, Minn.	1951	All Ranks
St. Paul, Minn.	1948	All Ranks
Omaha, Neb.	1944	All Ranks
Portland, Ore.	1947	All Ranks
Huron, S.D.	1936	All Ranks
Chattanooga, Tenn.	1945	Up to Sgt.
Tacoma, Wash.	1945	Up to Capt.
La Crosse, Wis.	1946	Up to Chief

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than is at first apparent. Strong police unions, by demonstrating their ability to win better wages and working conditions, have not only bolstered police morale but have also made it possible for police departments to attract higher-caliber applicants. Even though the public has to foot the bill for a better-paid police force, it derives the benefits of a better-staffed police force.

Police unions can materially improve the conditions which make the policeman a ripe target for corruption. And, when police on a unionized force do get into trouble, as happened in Bridgeport three years ago when two officers were accused of accepting money from a shoplifter, the union does not interfere with the administration of just punishment. The union does, however, maintain a certain vigilance in such cases to guard against secret and unfair punishment.

Many who agree that policemen should have the right to appeal grievances and some form of employee representation, nevertheless balk at the idea of a union. They argue that existing line organizations, such as New York's Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, can do the job. The experience of police in most cities, however, has been that such organizations are poorly suited to assume union functions. An effective collective-bargaining organization must have both a democratic base and a leadership with executive power to act in behalf of the rank-and-file. Police benevolent groups seldom have either — and often are dominated by high-ranking personnel who have special interests.

Because they put police officers in contact with the main stream of organized labor, police unions sometimes have another subtle but important effect. I have mentioned the finality with which Bridgeport police subdued picket-line disturbances. This was accomplished without undue violence or indiscriminate arrests. It is difficult to say to what extent this restraint was attributable to any sympathy the unionized police may have felt toward the pickets. But exposure to, and identification with, the liberal social viewpoint of the labor movement have not been without influence in the development of more humane attitudes, more concern for civil liberties, and the comparative absence of racial bigotry among members of the Bridgeport police force. The contrast in this regard, between men who are active in the union and those who are not members, tends to be particularly striking.

Police unionism may never become our first line of defense against the evils of a police state. But it might help.

CHAOS IN THE CARIBBEAN

OUR ZIG-ZAG POLICY . . *by Betty Kirk*

EVENTS OF LAST New Year's Day in Cuba have crystallized questions concerning U.S. policy in the vulnerable Caribbean area.

The Caribbean zone is vulnerable because the United States, which for over a century has controlled and directed its destinies, today operates there without a policy. Although a first team of diplomats occupy strategic posts, thanks largely to the efforts of Senator Wayne Morse and his subcommittee investigating inter-American affairs, they go unarmed with either political or economic weapons.

BETTY KIRK, American journalist living in Mexico City, is the author of "The Politics of the Suction Pump" (Nation, Oct. 5, 1957), an analysis of U.S. policy in Latin America which was reprinted widely in the Latin American press, including Cuadérnos Americanos, *Mexico's distinguished political and literary review.*

Current U.S. defense of the area is limited, therefore, to the military and to the good will of the Organization of American States (the former is dependent on the latter, since the inter-American agreements provide that military action can be taken only if invoked by the OAS). Yet any military action by us would be playing into the hands of the anti-U.S. groups in Latin America.

Unless a clear-cut policy is adopted, there is danger that the United States may walk into one or both of two traps that have been prepared. The first is to provoke our military intervention. This is the purpose of the filibustering expeditions of the kind which invaded Panama and Honduras recently, and which last week invaded Nicaragua.

That invasions like these, launched on a small scale upon highly militarized territories, cannot succeed is obvious. But they do fulfill in great measure the mission for which they are designed — to launch a propaganda offensive that would resound throughout the hemisphere. The only ingredients lacking to date are a skirmish with U.S. forces and a dead "martyr" who could be dramatized as a victim of "Yanqui Imperialism."

The second trap consists of the use of these expeditionary forces to distract attention from other areas where internal subversion is being sowed. Typical of such sensitive spots are Argentina and Venezuela, where the governments are under pressure from ruthless opponents.

The existence of these traps puts our Latin American representatives, and in particular the U.S. Caribbean Command, in the uncomfortable position of teetering on the tight rope of non-intervention while waiting for Washington to make up its mind. Recognizing that such a situation could not come about unless mistakes had been made, Senator Hubert Humphrey recently declared that "The first prerequisite of a re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sponsible and effective policy toward Latin America is a willingness to face the facts, however unpleasant they may be."

If such an agonizing reappraisal is to be made, the first fact to be faced is that the Caribbean witch's brew is largely of Washington's own concoction. This is one situation that was not *created* by the Communists, though they are exploiting it to the hilt. Its genesis is found in the contradictory policies followed since the end of World War II and in the confusion resulting from them. There have been three such policies in less than a decade and a half, and it is rumored that a fourth is on the way.

THE QUESTION about which the statesmen seem unable to make up their minds is the simple definition of "Who's A Hero?" There have been so many in Latin America in recent years, and the confusion has been compounded by the conversion of heroes into villains overnight. Thus the zig-zag line of U.S. policy in the Caribbean during the postwar period can be followed by determining, at any given moment, who is the "good guy" and who is the "bad."

At the end of the war, Washington was lined up side by side with the strong men of the area, many of whom had been in power for years. Yet there was a New Deal operating to the North, and a group of Caribbean reformers were determined that they wanted one, too. That they could and did act effectively also indicates that they had Washington's friendly nod, as they moved to swing their countries from the extreme Right to the middle-of-the-road.

The leaders of this reform movement were Romulo Betancourt and Romulo Gallegos in Venezuela, Jorge Eliécer Gaitan and Alberto Lleras Camargo in Colombia, Juan José Arévalo and Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala, and José Figuéres in Costa Rica. All were friendly to the United States, all were anti-Communist, all were against dictatorship. They sought to make it possible for democracy to grow among their countrymen, but to achieve this, changes had to be made.

The first task that each had to perform was to depose entrenched reactionaries. In succession, General Jorge Ubico was overthrown in Guatemala, General Isaias Medina in Venezuela, and Rafael Calderon's Communist-Conservative coalition in Costa Rica. The plan failed in Colombia when Jorge Eliécer Gaitan, the popular hero, was assassinated during the ninth Conference of American States in 1948. It was at this conference that the Organization of American States was born amid bloody rioting in which a Cuban named Fidel Castro took an active, and anti-American, part.

Although they had principles in common, the New Men of the Caribbean world followed no orthodoxy. President Arévalo in Guatemala sought land division and education for his poverty-stricken and illiterate Indians. Betancourt advocated profit-sharing of oil income and intensified farming in Venezuela. Figuéres in Costa Rica disbanded the army and concentrated on economic reforms and expanding education. And all worked to build a vigorous and multiple labor front which would serve as a balance wheel to the military machines that had controlled their countries for so long.

IF THESE men and their parties had remained in office long enough to correct the evils of a feudal past, the story of today's Caribbean world would be a happier one. But they were "good guys" for only a brief time, for with the outbreak of the Korean War and the launching of the anti-Communist crusade, U.S. policy suddenly took a sharp zag to the Right.

The first victim of the reversal was Venezuela's President Romulo Gallegos, successor to Betancourt. Twelve days after signature of a new oil contract requiring U.S. companies to yield half their profits, his government was overthrown (although the same 50-50 terms soon became standard in Middle East countries). The usual military *junta* took over and installed Colonel Marcos Perez Jiménez, who became both General and President and reigned for ten years.

The next head to fall was that of President Jacobo Arbenz of Guatemala, who was purged for alleged communism when he received a shipment of arms from behind the Iron Curtain. (He had tried in vain to buy arms from the Pentagon, which would supply them only to his hostile neighbors.) This *putsch*, in which the United States actively and openly participated, was hailed by official U.S. spokesmen as a "glorious victory." Following the routine in such affairs, a *junta* took over, chose Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas as the new hero, and made him President.

Still another of the "Little Colonels" had emerged triumphantly in Colombia where, during the continuing conflict between the Conservative and Liberal parties, the military seized control and installed Colonel Gustavo Rojas Pinilla as dictator and President.

THE ONLY member of the original coterie of Caribbean New Dealers to survive the wholesale purge was President José Figuéres of Costa Rica. Yet six months after the Guatemalan "victory," even he was threatened with removal when the heavily armed police state of General Anastasio Somoza, copying in detail the tactics employed in the Guatemalan affair, launched an invasion from Nicaragua. That Figuéres and his democratic regime were saved was due to quick action by the Organization of American States, which flew munitions and soldiers to his defenseless republic, while an OAS commission acted to force Somoza to withdraw.

The rescue of Figuéres remained an exception, however; the Caribbean world was once again firmly in the hands of the dictators. Batista had returned to Cuba in 1952; Somoza reigned supreme in Nicaragua, yielding in seniority among dictators only to General Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. And as a reward for "keeping peace" in the hemisphere, the dictators were showered by Washington with medals and guns galore, with loans and subsidies, with *abrazos* and official praise. Enjoying such accolades, the Little Caesars were heros indeed, until suddenly the political climate changed.

The new zig began with the purge of Rojas Pinilla in Colombia in 1957 was followed by Washington's extraordinary desertion in 1958 of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Venezuela's Perez Jiménez, and continued with the overthrow of Batista as 1959 dawned. And as each dictator in turn was tossed out, an avalanche of atrocity stories was unleashed, exposing the evils of the formerly admirable regime, the brutalities of the formerly favored secret police. So the fair-haired boys became black villains overnight—to their own complete astonishment, no doubt.

The last decisive move to be taken officially by Washington occurred in the spring of 1957, but it is not yet possible to determine if it was a zig to the Left or a zag to the Right. It occurred in Cuba, when the newly arrived United States Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith, after witnessing a demonstration of police brutality in Santiago de Cuba, issued a statement deploring it. At a press conference, when the Secretary of State was asked about Smith's criticisms of the Batista regime, he defended the Ambassador's action.

State Department attitudes toward Cuba were further clarified when in March, 1958, shipment of military supplies to Batista was cancelled. This was a signal, understood by all, that the dictator was on his way out and Castro was in, although it took some months to consummate the transfer. Had any doubts on the question survived, they were removed by the immediate recognition of Dr. Castro and his movement, and by the later welcome accorded him in the United States. No other Latin American leader, since the late Porfirio Diaz of Mexico, has received a like quantity and quality of publicity.

WHETHER the 26th of July Movement is a revolution to the Left or a counter-revolution to the Right remains a subject of lively discussion that has yet to be resolved. It is for this reason that Washington's later commitment to a crusade cannot yet be identified as a zig or a zag. But that Dr. Castro was and is *persona grata* to the policy-makers who helped to put him in is clear.

Existing confusion about general U.S. policy in the area may, however, be clarified soon by what happens in Venezuela, when the issues are defined. In December, 1958, Romulo Betancourt again became President, and subsequently his government suffered a squeeze. The country's economy depends on its income from oil. During the ten-year dictatorship of Perez Jiménez, exports boomed. No export problem was encountered by the provisional government of Admiral Wolfgang Larrazábal, which succeeded the Jiménez regime. But within a short time of Betancourt's inauguration, the United States, Venezuela's biggest customer, imposed import controls on foreign crude. Simultaneously, foreign capital began to flee the country at the rate of $30 million a month (*Time*, Jan. 5, 1959). A similar flight of capital occurred in Mexico after the oil expropriation in 1938.

Having inherited a treasury emptied by the dictator's extravagance and loot, coping with widespread unemployment and confronted by the aggressive opposition of Right and Left, President Betancourt is in a tight spot. He is the first of the middle-road reformers to return to power in the Caribbean area. He was chosen in free elections by his own people. He is able, honest, anti-Communist and pro-democratic. But, in Washington's eyes, is he a "good guy" or "bad"?

STRONTIUM-90 IN ST. LOUIS

50,000 BABY TEETH . . *by William K. Wyant, Jr.*

St. Louis

ORDINARILY, a group that called itself the Greater St. Louis Citizens Committee for Nuclear Information would not be expected to last for any great period of time. Mortality among earnest and well-meaning organizations has been as great here as elsewhere, and the waters of the Mississippi have rolled over many such. Yet the committee now is striding vigorously into its second year. It has turned out to be an unusually happy union of scientific knowledge and civic leadership. Lay members are not afraid of Ph.D.s and M.D.s, the good doctors are neither fearful nor contemptuous of the laymen, and both doctors and laymen are unafraid of the United States Government.

At the outset, CNI — as the committee is called locally — decided it would not be an "action" group — that is to say, it would take no position for or against testing of nuclear weapons, even though the sentiment of the organizing spirits was clearly and outspokenly against. The view prevailed that what really was needed was information. It was felt that too many people — the politicians, the military and the oracles speaking *ex cathedra* from the Atomic Energy Commission — were taking decisive attitudes on the basis of indecisive information, or none.

This stand, useful in itself, also served the practical purpose of broadening the base of support, with the consequence that the CNI leadership now reflects a wide spectrum of opinion.

But while persisting in its "non-action" policy, the committee during its first year waged such a valiant fight on the information front that strontium-90 is now a household word in St. Louis. On the average of every other day, a member of the speakers' stable makes a talk on the subject. The CNI's monthly bulletin's circulation has jumped from 500 to 2,500. And the committee's drive to collect 50,000 baby teeth, to be analyzed for strontium-90, got

WILLIAM K. WYANT, JR., is on the staff of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

headlines throughout the world press.

A few months ago, CNI's first anniversary meeting took place at the Union Avenue Christian Church, where the organization had been founded. Present was a cross-section of the medical and scientific elite of the city, along with lawyers, ministers and other civic leaders. Morale was high. There was evident a fine rapport, an atmosphere of comradeship and understanding, between scientists and laymen. One reason for this was that much had been accomplished with little.

Dr. Alfred S. Schwartz, assistant professor of clinical pediatrics at Washington University School of Medicine, the committee's vice president and treasurer, reported $5,077 had been spent during the year, leaving a balance of $469. Membership was more than 500. Tribute was paid to the women volunteer workers, many of them the wives of physicians and scientists.

SPECIFICALLY, what had the committee done in its first year? There was a good deal besides the fact that it now had an office on the second floor of an old, converted red-brick house on West Pine Boulevard, with a number in the telephone book, a constantly ringing telephone, and a dedicated staff secretary to answer phone and mail — Mrs. Edward C. Roberts, who started as a part-time paid worker and now is a full-time volunteer.

1. A Speakers' Bureau, consisting of seventeen men and three women, has been organized to offer scientists as speakers to organizations in the St. Louis area. The speakers are all either M.D.s or Ph.D.s, capable of dealing with technical aspects of the fallout controversy. Since last October, some seventy church, parent, fraternal and business groups have heard addresses. Three organizers of the committee — Barry Commoner, professor of botany at Washington University, Dr. Walter C. Bauer, instructor in surgical pathology at the university's School of Medicine, and John M. Fowler, Washington University physicist — have made the knife-and-fork circuit a way of life. Fowler estimated they spend about a third of their time at it.

2. Nuclear Information, CNI's monthly publication, was started last fall to report new scientific facts in lay language. The March issue was entitled "Strontium-90 and Common Foods." It served to point out that the public had heard much about radioactivity in milk, but little about radioactivity in other foods. An article told of the three-year survey of wheat samples from Minnesota and the Dakotas.

3. CNI has sponsored two series of five seminars each on radiation for the scientific and medical community, and three public meetings at which qualified people discussed the consequences of radiation and fallout.

4. At the request of the St. Louis Dairy Council, CNI scientists last January issued a statement discussing the potential hazard from strontium-90 in milk (the local milk supply has been showing the highest strontium-90 concentration of 10 cities surveyed monthly by the United States Public Health Service — and nobody knows why). The statement said, in effect, that the harm that might result to children from milk containing radioactive substances could not yet be assayed with certainty. It emphasized that milk, as an essential food, must not be eliminated from the diet, and called for research on ways to lower its strontium-90 content.

5. The Baby Tooth Survey was started last December as a ten-year scientific project. Directed by Dr. Louise Reiss, an internist, the campaign has the cooperation of the School of Dentistry at both Washington and St. Louis universities. It has also served as an excellent device for calling attention to the more dreadful implications of nuclear fallout.

THERE WAS deep concern in St. Louis about nuclear-weapons testing for several years before CNI was organized. One of Washington University's most widely known scientists, former Chancellor Arthur H. Compton, Nobel Prize-winner and key figure in developing the A-bomb in World War II, has maintained a friendly attitude toward government atomic policies. But younger men in the physics department, headed by Edward U. Condon, former U. S. Bureau of Standards chief, were openly hostile. In the spring of 1957, Linus C. Pauling of the California Institute of Technology, also a Nobel Prize-winner, attacked atom-bomb testing in an eloquent address before Washington University's faculty and student body, warning of the price that might have to be paid by generations yet unborn. Later, in Condon's office, Pauling drew up a petition that called for immediate action to halt testing by international agreement.

Condon, Commoner and three other faculty members were among the twenty-seven signers of this petition; by the time Pauling presented it to the U.N. Secretary-General in January, 1958, more than 9,000 scientists from forty-three nations had subscribed. The scientific community at St. Louis University, a Catholic institution, had a share in the effort.

The formation of CNI followed several years of public needling of the AEC by Fowler, Commoner, Dr. Bauer, T. Alexander Pond of Washington University's physics department, and others. Some were horrified at the attacks made on Adlai Stevenson when he tried to debate the fallout question in the 1956 Presidential campaign.

St. Louis women, an enlightened and militant breed, got into the conflict early. A pioneer group calling itself "Eves Against Atoms," headed by Mrs. Thomas B. Sherman, wife of a *Post-Dispatch* editor, took a stand against testing. However, the CNI traces its origin directly to a meeting which took place in March of last year at the apartment of Mrs. George Gellhorn, a tireless and effective worker for civic causes in city, state and nation for sixty years. Now eighty, a widow since 1936 and the mother of writer Martha Gellhorn, Mrs. Gellhorn is a woman possessed of beauty, charm and sharp political savvy. Her assistance in any campaign to get something done in St. Louis is the rough equivalent of six Marine battalions.

From the start, CNI has had strong moral and religious overtones, sharpened by a kind of cheerful "let's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

look at the facts" iconoclasm. Like Mrs. Gellhorn, the Commoners—Barry and his wife, Gloria, committee vice president—are members of the St. Louis Ethical Society. So is Alexander S. Langsdorf, dean emeritus of Washington University's School of Engineering and CNI president. Fowler and Dr. Bauer are Quakers. At the initial meeting in the Gellhorn apartment, in addition to Commoner and Fowler, was the Rev. Ralph C. Abele, then head of the Metropolitan Church Federation. They decided to form a permanent body.

The next step was a meeting of about thirty people which took place several weeks later at the home of Mrs. Ernest W. Stix, another civic leader. Attending were university people, members of social-action groups, priests, ministers, housewives. The sequel was the founders' meeting, April 21, 1958.

WHILE NOT all the CNI prime movers took a position against testing, the major figures did; and it is quite apparent that the group as a whole is motivated by deep misgivings as to the biological and moral implications of the weapons race. Nevertheless, the decision was to take no official stand and to concentrate instead on information.

Scientists with CNI have served as a Greek chorus to amplify, comment on, question, explain and criticize the thunderous pronunciamentos of the protagonists in Washington. Each new gobbet of official information is analyzed and put into context. Research papers are seized on, dissected and translated into lay language. The press is kept alerted to its duty. Any inaccuracies, omissions or glossings-over in official statements are promptly challenged.

The Baby Tooth Survey has given the organization an objective that should hold it together for some time. The idea was suggested last summer by Dr. Schwartz, who cited an article in the British scientific publication *Nature* written by Dr. Herman M. Kalckar, a biochemist at Johns Hopkins University. CNI became the first group anywhere, apparently, to initiate a large collection of "milk" teeth to be analyzed for radioactivity.

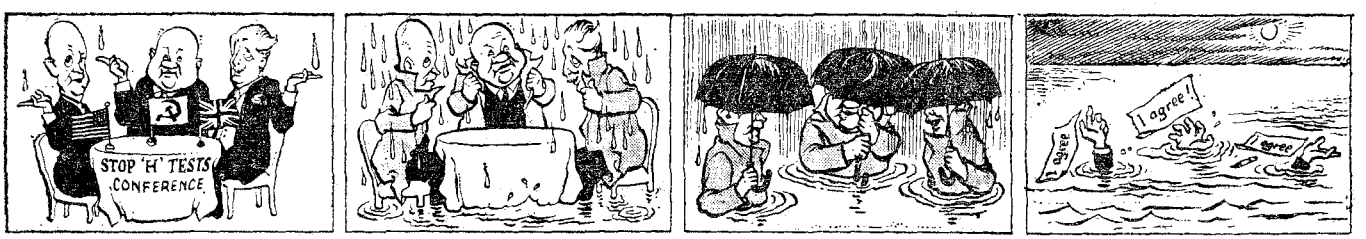
It was characteristic of the committee that it planned the project carefully. Before any announcement was made, its scope and purpose had the approval of the deans of both the local schools of dentistry; and Dr. John T. Bird, assistant dean of Washington University's school, had agreed to head a group of dentists to examine and classify the teeth. Dr. E. S. Khalifah, editor of the *Journal* of the Missouri State Dental Association, gave his enthusiastic support. With the help of Martin Quigley, a public-relations adviser who is on the CNI board, the announcement, when it came, was deliberately designed to soft-pedal the "human interest" angle of the story and to stress sober scientific objectives. It said in part:

> The importance of an immediate collection of deciduous, or baby, teeth lies in the fact that teeth now being shed by children represent an irreplaceable source of scientific information about the absorption of strontium-90 in the human body. Beginning about ten years ago, strontium-90 from nuclear-test fallout began to reach the earth and to contaminate human food.
>
> Deciduous teeth now being shed were formed from the minerals present in food eaten by mothers and infants during the period 1948 to 1953 — the first few years of the fallout era — and therefore represent invaluable baseline information with which analysis of later teeth and bones can be compared. Unless a collection of deciduous teeth is started immediately, scientists will lose the chance to learn how much strontium-90 human beings absorbed during the first years of the atomic age.
>
> Strontium-90 present in food accumulates in bones and teeth; milk is the main food source of strontium-90. In sufficient amounts the radiation from strontium-90 may cause harmful effects, including bone tumors and other forms of cancer. . . .

The reaction to the announcement was instantaneous and world-wide: There were letters from New York, Hawaii, Calcutta, California, Spain. Some mail from afar included teeth, although the committee wants specimens only from the St. Louis area.

Dr. Louise Reiss and her assistants have had extraordinary success in getting local schools — public, private and parochial — to help in the teeth collecting. Some 250,000 forms have been distributed to reach all lower-grade students. The Council of Catholic Women, the public libraries, the dental societies and city dental clinics have been of great assistance. At present, baby teeth are reaching the little office on West Pine Boulevard at the rate of about fifty a day. The stockpile is still short of 10,000, although the estimated annual "fallout" of baby teeth in the St. Louis area is half-a-million. When enough have been accumulated, they will be classified, ground up and analyzed at the Washington University School of Dentistry. Mothers who request an individual report on their children's teeth are doomed to disappointment.

Summing up the first year, the CNI, adopting a "conservative" approach, has set a pattern already being followed by other communities. What official bodies will not do for them, citizens are seeking to do for themselves.



Cummings in the Daily Express (London)

"Only a drop of sr-90—plenty of time to reach agreement!"

"Only a little shower of sr-90 —there's still time to agree!"

"No reason to get excited, there's plenty of time!"

"Agreed!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Prosecuting Historian

WE THE PEOPLE: The Economic Origins of the Constitution. By Forrest McDonald. University of Chicago Press. 436 pp. $7.

Jackson Turner Main

NEARLY half a century ago, Charles A. Beard proposed the thesis that the Constitution was written by large property holders, especially by the business and creditor interests, and that its ratification was secured by them over the opposition of farmers and debtors. The facts which he presented in proof, though far from decisive — "fragmentary," as he himself wrote — were impressive, and the work of succeeding scholars has transformed Beard's tentative suggestion into accepted fact.

It was not to be expected that this interpretation should go unchallenged. Beard made quite a few mistakes, and historians have steadily corrected peripheral errors. Other critics argued that although economic factors were influential they were not paramount. Above all, Beard's thesis aroused hostility because it asserted that the Constitution was not divine, but the product of man, not to be venerated but examined critically. Indeed, people tend to attack or defend Beard according to their basic prejudices. Accordingly it might have been predicted that the conservative reaction of the 1950s would produce attacks on Beard. Such has been the case, and the present volume is the most considerable of such attacks.

Forrest McDonald's book is based upon much research, some of it in little-used primary materials. The research was by no means exhaustive; it was, in fact, exceedingly uneven, for the author's primary purpose was not to produce a new interpretation but only to test (i. e., refute) Beard's. Therefore he went deep into those aspects of his subject which promised the desired result, but failed to investigate those which did not. This procedure had its inevitable result. McDonald accumulated a mass of notes which impresses the reader, and which evidently convinced the author that he had demolished his predecessors to such an extent that he was able to propose an alternative to the Beardian hypothesis. Oddly enough, he does not object to the view that economic forces were responsible for the Constitution, but aside from this he completely reverses Beard. He asserts that the men who wrote the Constitution represented most of the country's geographical areas and reflected most of the major political opinions; moreover, that among them were not only large property holders but men from all ranks, including debtors — in short, that the Federal Convention was a truly representative body. Further, he insists that the division over ratification did not follow lines of class, nor did it oppose merchant to farmer, creditor to debtor, unless, indeed, the Antifederalists actually had more property and were of higher status than those who supported the Constitution.

TWO methodological errors are responsible for these mistaken ideas: the limitations of research already described, and a desire to refute Beard so compelling that McDonald misinterprets his evidence. He tries to prove that the delegates to the Federal Convention represented most geographical areas by dividing the coastal regions into a large number of subdivisions; thus, since most of the members came from the Eastern Seaboard, he makes it appear that only a few sections were missing. The fact that almost no one came from the vast agricultural interior is further disguised by counting as present several men who were chosen but who refused to attend, among them Patrick Henry of Virginia and Willie Jones of North Carolina. Similarly, in order to prove that most political groups were present, he divides the country into "factions," either carefully or unconsciously defined so as to prejudice the conclusion. In Massachusetts, for example, he does not have a single faction which represented the views of the farmers. By such methods he conceals the true situation: that the Convention was, as Beard had stated, an assemblage representing, with a few exceptions, only the coastal business interests and the large commercial farmers, both sharing conservative political views.

McDonald tries in various ways to lower the financial status of the delegates. Their wealth is disparaged; whenever a man ultimately failed in business, this fact is emphasized; if a man borrowed money, this is considered a sign of poverty or impending bankruptcy. Now it is a fact almost too obvious for comment, yet one which seems to have escaped McDonald and his reviewers, that the wealthier the individual, the more he can borrow. The difference between the rich man and the poor can almost be measured by the size of his debt, just as the largest corporations have the heaviest liabilities. What matters, of course, is not one's liabilities but one's assets. In the 1780s men borrowed, if they could, to acquire land, purchase slaves, import goods, or dispatch ships. If they could not borrow enough, they remained poor. In hard times, such as occurred during the mid 80s, the wealthy might sell some of their property to maintain their position; that they could do this is a mark not of poverty but of their wealth. Yet McDonald continually cites the contracting of debts and the occasional loss of property to prove that the delegates were "in desperate circumstances." Such was the unhappy lot of Edmund Randolph, with 7,463 acres and 101 slaves; of George Washington, who owned in Virginia 12,175 acres and 390 slaves, and of Robert Morris, probably the richest merchant in the country. In the same way, the author reduces to insignificance the delegates' share in the public debt, which was, according to Beard and most other students, including contemporary observers, an important factor in forming the new government.

THE argument that in the country as a whole those for and against ratification were of similar status and wealth is equally erroneous. McDonald's sketches of the political situation in the various states are incomplete, since certain aspects only are described. No real attempt is made to analyze the composition of the two sides, except through the members of the state ratifying conventions — an error which Beard also made, and which does not permit a complete description. Federalist members of these conventions are downgraded, their true wealth often concealed, while that of many Antifederalists is exaggerated. For example, in his anxiety to show that the proportion of merchants on either side was

JACKSON TURNER MAIN teaches at San Jose State College. His history of the Antifederalists will be published soon.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

about the same, McDonald fails to identify no less than seven Federalist merchants in Massachusetts alone; in Pennsylvania he correctly names the seven Antifederalists who owned mills, but reports only six out of twelve Federalist millers. Seldom is data given on the comparative properties of the protagonists, and the reader is never informed of the fact that in almost all of the states which witnessed a conflict over ratification, the great majority of the large property holders were Federalists. In short, the research is faulty and the interpretation unsound, and Beard's contention that the great majority of large property holders, merchants, creditors and the like supported the Constitution, is still the correct view.

These fatal flaws are particularly unfortunate because McDonald really has done a great deal of work, and picks his way through some very tricky subjects with great skill. The historian who is well versed in the literature of the period may use his book with profit, for much of it is valid; and the fact that the central thesis is untenable, and many of the secondary interpretations incorrect, need not vitiate those sections which do contribute, if they can be distinguished. For the historian who lacks such special knowledge, and for the non-professional reader, the book is better left unread. This is unfortunate, for we badly need a more accurate account of the origins of the Constitution than that which Beard furnishes; but it is better to tolerate errors in detail than to suffer new delusions.

The 'New Yorker' Hick

THE YEARS WITH ROSS. By James Thurber. Little, Brown & Co. 310 pp. $5.

David Cort

IT IS incredible and outrageous, but nonetheless a fact, that the generation of American culture between the world wars was strongly affected by the character, manners and will of one Harold Ross, late editor of *The New Yorker* magazine, the nominal wheelhorse of American sophistication. He is now the hero of a book by James Thurber.

Ross in the early 1920s, that period when the machine age was expected to overwhelm the individual, seized on the discovery by *Time's* Briton Hadden that "writers are a dime a dozen." Ross, an *Auslander,* conceived of a magazine for the "sophisticated" New Yorker, a creature he saw somewhat as a grub sees a butterfly. In New York, the writers and artists were super-abundant, the audience was not quite ready, the magazine was inevitable.

At first both audience and contributors were largely confined to Greenwich Village. The future was black. Then an article about debutantes by Clarence Mackay's daughter, now Mrs. Irving Berlin, put it on the front page of *The New York Times.* The first financial success of *The New Yorker* was arrived at, simply, by taking over the old *Vanity Fair* crowd — Dorothy Parker for books, Robert Benchley for plays and Alexander Woollcott for "Shouts and Murmurs." In that period, people of a kind could not safely go out to dinner without having read that week's Parker, Benchley and Woollcott; not the cartoon jokes yet; not "Talk of the Town." *The New Yorker,* a weekly, became a stronger habit than *Vanity Fair,* a monthly.

The depression benefited *New Yorker* advertising, as a depression always will a closely read magazine as against superficially read magazines. *The New Yorker* and *Time* in those years pulled together the American elite, with some pretension to brains, and naturally knifed each other at every opportunity. Part of *The New Yorker's* character was defined by the need to be the opposite of *Time.* Yet the same people went back and forth between the two magazines. (This is not in Thurber's book.)

So far so good. But in the heart of this ripening apple was Harold Ross who is defined, but not depicted, in Thurber's book as a lovable, crotchety, beneficial force in American culture. Ross did indeed have the dream of a magazine, but he was utterly incompetent to produce it. He had to bring in other people whom he immediately feared, suspected and hated, i. e., according to Thurber, "loved." Thurber's book documents the terrible truth that Ross had no valid relationship with any creation excepting only *The New Yorker;* if you were the lifeblood of this creation, he "loved" you. It is not disinterested for an editor to be nice to Thurber. Ross did not care about the money in the enterprise; he cared only about the perfection of this insane impersonation of the sophisticated New Yorker, as a Norman in the year 900 might have wanted to look like a Gaul.

Ross, in his own person, stubbornly remained the most uncompromising lout, hick, clod and boor I think I have ever met, and Thurber, an honest man, completely documents this.

But in fact he was a successful editor. Why? He was a Philistine; he instinctively despised everything *The New Yorker* had to stand for; but somehow he was convinced that, no matter how he felt, it was the greatest thing in the world. As a barbarian from outside the gates, he resolved to bring perfection to this thing he did not understand, even though he would not know perfection when he saw it. Suspicious and baleful, he scrutinized the

DAVID CORT former Time-Life *editor and author of* The Big Picture *and* The Calm Man, *is a frequent contributor.*

Anti-Poem

The valves of silence clap
as jets crash through
and stop the mind

Fright dries our blood and ink.
The wingèd horse drowns in the rage
of metal over Helicon

Heroes in laced and padded mail—
orbital fledgelings—try their wings
for a long drop from the nest

Scorners of the prostrate map—
what can they make of my metric feet
my strophes at the chthonic barrier?

Huge projections of fiction's magic lantern—
lucky for them they've had no time to read.
Icarus, Lucifer, and the Tower of Tongues

lay no guilt upon their memories.
No god has told them not to do
what they do not doubt they can

DILYS LAING

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

copy and the art, looking for who would betray him. Probably the manic scrutiny stimulated some of the people involved; it may have paralyzed and disgusted others. Who can say? But Ross was not sure of himself. If his opponent kept his composure, Ross would back down, because to him the whole thing was a mystery, as the whole world of ideas and intuitions must be to a convinced Philistine.

Ross was not peculiar in himself. He was only shocking as the editor of *The New Yorker*. He was a standard American type: the mother's boy who takes it out as a profane talker, a loud-mouth, a sulker, a bluffer, a practical-joker, a fake tough guy, a Legionnaire at a convention, a lousy poker-player, a goddamner of women schoolteachers (his mother was one), a paranoiac, an inveterate outsider, a human being who knows he cannot handle his own emotions and decides to have none.

MR. THURBER, a brave as well as a gifted man, evidently kept his composure and even, together with E. B. White, injected into the magazine an anti-neurotic creation of his own. But Ross had to try to turn these proved men into formulae or fixtures, owned by him.

The New Yorker's problem was that no magazine can live on sophistication alone. Like refinement, which the daily press peddles, sophistication as an end in itself is vulgar. One solution lay in repeated formulae: "Talk of the Town," the departments, "Infatuation With Sound of Own Words," "Neatest Trick of the Week," "Social Notes from All Over" and such tips to the reader on how to feel superior. The fiction had to stylize itself, first getting more and more elliptical and factual, as in the work of O'Hara, Wenning, *et al.*, and later interminably long and often amateurish. In non-fiction, too, it became the policy that there are very few good subjects, and when one comes along, wring it of the last drop.

Thurber points out that the "Where Are They Now?" formula was lifted, without a nod, from Elmer Davis. In 1931, Ross printed a page of poems called "U. S. A. Blues" by me (I am not a poet). I sent in a follow-up set, but these were rejected as too serious, or something. To my understandable amazement, a similar page of poems called "Red, White and Blues" by another writer presently appeared. Most magazines stick at doing this sort of thing, but never Ross. Perhaps he was envious of the legal mass-piracy of *Time's* system. His burglaries were altruistic, not for money but for the magazine. He was stealing, like any burglar, for his very life, or as a mother would steal for her starving children. Ross was indeed a she-wolf in a perpetual famine year.

There can be two points of view about this; but neither can allow that Ross was a respectable, lovable human being.

The first point of view would be that a really first-class editor must be a she-wolf. Perhaps he must also be a Philistine, who is ashamed of Philistinism and lusts for the creative world from outside the store window. Perhaps like a great surgeon or priest, he must be somewhat hard-hearted. Perhaps like a great general or football coach, he must be somewhat corny. Perhaps like a great chairman of the board, he must have the one-track mind of a mother and home-maker. All traits of the she-wolf, if I may be allowed the Philistinism.

I think this point of view is possible but not certified. Actually I think that the first requisite of a great editor is magnanimity, and the second that he have the luck to have good writers and artists, and the third that he have an audience. Ross had the last two.

The second possible point of view is that Ross canalized and loused up the talent that offered itself and was just another of the numerous American editors who have brought us into our present Sargasso Sea, in a dead calm. For this he deserves no unique blame; but he was also offensive about it, and a discredit and embarrassment to any company he was in.

TO SAY that Ross was a great editor seems to me like saying that Rome became great only after it was overrun by the barbarians who hated, feared ("loved") Rome. Spare me this kind of ("love"). I put Ross at this end of Rome's history rather than as the suckler of Romulus and Remus.

I think most literate people would be fascinated by this book. They will meet many delightful people, including the author, and I believe their judgment of Ross will be, at the end, substantially what mine has always been. Oddly, such is the seduction of Thurber's craft, my eyes watered at the end, at the death of Ross. I don't know how Thurber did it to me; perhaps it was because some good men and women felt something for Ross that they interpreted as ("love").

Let's Scare the Russians

GERMANY AND THE EAST-WEST CRISIS: The Decisive Challenge to American Policy. By William S. Schlamm. David McKay Co. 237 pp. $3.95.

R. C. Raack

LET IT be noted at the outset that Mr. Schlamm's proposed solution to the German impasse and the East-West conflict as a whole will scarcely appeal to those who see the prospect of nuclear war (even if we *do* get them before they get us) as abhorrent. He is speaking, rather, to the self-styled "realists" who believe that the "moderate risk" of nuclear war must be calculated in order to save the whole Western system of values.

Mr. Schlamm's concern for the present intellectual *malaise* in Germany leads him into a wide-ranging and often provocative dissection of Western culture from Nietzsche to Kenneth Tynan. Most of the time, however, he describes a decadence so far advanced that one wonders why he believes Western values to be worth saving. Moreover, his gratuitous cultural and moral *obiter dicta*, while sometimes entertaining ("Sex is the inarticulate's substitute for conversation"), are just as often unfunny (pacifism — "surely an infantile disease of the intellect") and are, in any case, distracting.

The reader who survives the long course on the decline of the West will finally come upon Mr. Schlamm's announced thesis. There can be, he says, no reconciliation between "evil" communism and the West. The Communists' goal is exactly what they have been saying it is since 1848: a communized world. At present the most important point of conflict is divided Germany. Spiritually sick though the West Germans are as the result of the complete collapse of their traditions since 1933, drunk though they may be on the nihilistic slop-over of contemporary Western culture, Germany is nevertheless worth "several Indias with several Yugoslavias and several Polands thrown in." The Soviets are now attempting to consolidate the

R. C. RAACK teaches history at M.I.T. He has lived in Berlin, has traveled inside East Germany and is a student of German history and Eastern and Central European affairs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Eastern European empire they have usurped since 1945 by levering us into a recognition of the satellite (East) German Democratic Republic. Once this is accomplished, all Germany will be forced into the Soviet orbit and the balance of world power tipped eastward.

The consolidation by the Russians of their conquests is just what the West must take the offensive to prevent. If we expect the Russians to go home peacefully after their revolutionary spirit is undermined by technological progress, we are waiting in vain. Mr. Schlamm remarks perceptively that the individual Communist is possessed by the dream of reforming the human race. In his fearful earnestness to force man to be rational, the Communist is concerned with neither material comfort nor individual self-determination. Communism, Mr. Schlamm states, "is the culminating *hubris* of Promethean man who reaches out for the world and means to remake creation. It is scientism gone political."

SO FAR nothing wholly implausible or, for that matter, revolutionary. But wait. Mr. Schlamm is certain that the Russians above all do not want nuclear war, since it would obliterate the expanding materialist paradise which furnishes the rationale for their existence. The West can, therefore, undertake a "rollback" in Eastern Germany because the Russians would retreat and live to fight another day if nuclear annihilation were the only alternative. The United States should ally itself with the spiritually sick but materially surfeited West Germans and recognize the Bonn government as the authority over all the territories possessed by Germany on the eve of Hitler's assumption of power. Together we should bombard the East Germans with propaganda about liberation, fill that unhappy land with Western agitators and infiltrators and then demand that Ivan go home.

Mr. Schlamm is not very clear about just why the Russians will heed our advice. But if they don't, then they get the bomb, and no bones about it. After all, Mr. Schlamm points out, our present defense posture leaves us with nothing else to fight them. Evil is evil and must be extirpated whatever the cost, be it fifty million dead as in the Second World War, be it twice or even many times as many as might occur in a future war. Given Mr. Schlamm's assumption that communism is the absolute evil, that this evil must inevitably destroy all good if we do not first destroy it, then almost any policy against communism is justified since no other evil, including the annihilation of mankind, or a good portion of it, can be as bad. But in view of the risks to be run with this policy, why limit the stakes to East Germany? Why not frighten them out of the rest of Eastern Europe as well? And then, while they build socialism in one country, we can continue our moral and cultural degeneration in peace.

In striking contrast to Mr. Schlamm's solution to the German crisis, to his free-swinging attacks on America's "leftist press" and on Social Democrats wherever they may be, to his suspicious fallout arithmetic and to his unique calculus of human suffering (which must be read to be believed), there is real understanding in his definition of communism as scientism run wild and in his characterization of Russian purposes in the present Berlin crisis and in Eastern Europe as a whole. And he adds a sound indictment of the follies of the Nuremberg war-crimes trials and of the lingering myth of German racial guilt for Nazi atrocities. But in spite of his mordant wit and his occasional insights, his grand schemes are inconsistent even in terms of the imaginary conditions he grants himself. A realistic analysis of diplomatic possibilities, not just an appetite for extreme measures, is the prerequisite for *Realpolitik*.

LETTER from PALERMO

William Weaver

SURELY no one has ever loved Palermo at first sight. Though it has a beautiful situation, the city is dingy and poor, the restaurants are few and the food not especially good. There are fine monuments but they are closed at capricious hours, and the weather — all five times I have been there — is appalling. And yet, Palermo fascinates on closer inspection. It was once a great capital; and one can see remnants of its elegance behind the tacky shops and the hovels, like the traces of charm in the face of an aged beauty.

Much has been written about other Italian cities, but Palermo has been neglected — until this winter when, with dazzling unexpectedness, a superb novel by a writer nobody had heard of took the Italian reading public by storm and became an authentic literary triumph (which is extremely rare in this country, where nothing is so suspect as success). And once you have read this book, Palermo acquires a new interest, a different dimension. It's like visiting the Faubourg St. Germain after reading Proust: even the most ordinary façade can become charged with meaning.

This singular Italian bestseller is called *Il Gattopardo*, and its author's name is Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa. The story of the author is as absorbing as the story of the book: a prince, descendant of one of the island's oldest families, Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa wrote this first and only novel in 1956-57, when he was approaching sixty; in July, 1957, after the book had been rejected by a publisher, he died. Five months later, the manuscript, almost by chance, came into the hands of the writer, Giorgio Bassani, an editor of the enterprising firm of Feltrinelli (publisher of *Doctor Zhivago*), who accepted it at once. Since its appearance last fall, it has gone through fourteen printings and has sold more than 40,000 copies — a figure that only a handful of novels have reached in Italy since the war.

Lester B. Pearson

distinguished Canadian statesman and winner of the 1957 Nobel Peace Prize speaks out on

DIPLOMACY IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

Taking the question of the defense of Quemoy and Matsu as a focal point, Mr. Pearson discusses the hazards and challenges of diplomacy in a world in which major decisions must be made in hours. He argues for a sane and enlightened diplomacy, predicated on the belief that the greatest national interest today is the prevention of nuclear war. The book includes Mr. Pearson's Nobel Peace Prize Lecture, *The Four Faces of Peace*. $2.75

Ask your bookseller

HARVARD University Press

Cambridge 38, Mass.

In Canada: *S. J. Reginald Saunders*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As soon as you begin reading the book, you understand its success: it is a rarity, the work of a man who was a born writer, but not — thank God — a *litterateur*. Ignoring contemporary fashions, the author simply set out to write a novel; and since the novelists he liked were Tolstoy, Flaubert, Stendhal, he told his story as one of them might have, with natural grace and insight — plus a twentieth-century detachment, a touch of nostalgia and a tone almost of resignation, as if he knew that the novel would be his farewell.

THE gattopardo itself is a handsome, leopard-like beast which, rampant, appears on the Lampedusa coat of arms, as it does on that of the Salina family, whose head, Prince Fabrizio, is the central character of *Il Gattopardo*. Fabrizio is identified, in a certain sense, with this rare animal: noble and proud and headed for extinction. The story begins in 1860, when the Prince is already a mature man, and it ends in 1910, a generation or more after his death. In the course of those years — and in a little more than 300 pages — Italy changes: Garibaldi invades Sicily, the Bourbon monarchy disappears, the country is united in a new capital, with a new governing class, a new bourgeoisie, a new bureaucracy. The ancient Sicilian aristocracy decays; Fabrizio is the last of his kind, and the finest.

But the book is not a mere romantic tapestry of a gracious life that is past. And though it evokes with poetic magic the world of great villas, with exotic gardens and French cooks and allegorical ceilings, it is most of all a study of character, of the play of one personality on another. Fabrizio is seen in his relationship with his adored nephew, the irresistible Tancredi, with his wife, with his humane Jesuit chaplain (who in a chapter of his own makes a memorable visit to his humble native village), with his daughters, whose batty spinster old age occasions the delicately satirical closing chapter of the novel.

From the Palermo of Don Fabrizio and *Il Gattopardo* to the Palermo of today is a huge, incredible step. And yet, traces of the past remain: the lugubrious catacombs of the *Cappuccini* (where Don Fabrizio's family was buried), with mummified cadavers hanging in dusty rows; an occasional *palazzo*, half-hidden behind neon signs or political posters; the stylish *stucchi* of the eighteenth-century Palermitan Giacomo Serpotta, who included *Hospitalitas* among his stylish statues of the virtues, lining the Oratorio di San Lorenzo. For the rest, what time did not destroy, the bombings of World War II obliterated.

You cannot read the book, though, without wanting to know the city and without wanting to know more about the author. So, conquering a deep-seated timidity about looking people up, I wrote a note to the author's widow and was promptly invited for a drink the next day.

After the war, during which their original home was razed by bombs, Prince Giuseppe and his wife moved into a family *palazzo* in Via Butera, a narrow, dark, winding street near the sea. A porter led me to the stairs, turned on the lights, and rang a loud bell; then a manservant showed me into a warm and comfortable library, where the Principessa — a striking, erect lady, all in black — was waiting to receive me.

This library, one of two the Prince had collected, is devoted to works of history; literature — my hostess explained — was on the floor below. We talked about books, and she told me how the Prince in his last years, after a life spent largely in traveling and reading, had done a little teaching, privately, for young friends, discussing with them the works of his favorite authors, the books that he and the Principessa had read and reread together in this library. These discussions gave birth to some written observations on these authors (Stendhal, Mérimée, Flaubert), which will appear shortly in the Italian review *Paragone*, entitled — not essays — but modestly "lezioni." These lessons, and four short stories, form the Prince's literary remains.

The Principessa — who is by birth a Latvian Baroness — is Vice President of the Italian Psychoanalytical Association and a scholar in her own right; we talked briefly about a trip she made through war-seared Europe from Palermo to Riga in 1943, an amazing odyssey. But she is reluctant to talk of herself; she showed me clippings of the *Gattopardo's* reviews, articles on her husband, photographs in the newspaper (with her own picture always neatly snipped out: the glory belongs to her husband). And as I left, I was invited back. *Hospitalitas*.

Palermo was dark when I came out of the palazzo, a light drizzle was falling, doors were shut and many windows were dark — and yet, I couldn't help imagining that behind some of those forbidding façades, there were people perhaps reading Stendhal, people cultivating a love for fine writing. And this love — along with his own few, fine works — is also an important part of the Prince's legacy.

FILMS

Robert Hatch

THE FLAWS in *The World, the Flesh and the Devil* are so assertive that it is tempting to add them up and call the sum a review. First, the title: M.G.M., evidently lacking confidence in the drawing power of its atomic fantasy, has tagged it with a name evoking a Lollobrigida potboiler. Second, plausibility: if the population of New York City and, we are given to understand, the entire Western Hemisphere has been reduced to two men and a woman, where are the bodies? The fallout disaster here envisioned may be intended as an eleventh-hour warning, but the puzzling, if gratifying, absence of corpses lets the story develop a Robinson Crusoe picnic mood that is almost jolly. Finally, resolution: having decided that one of the three survivors is to be a Negro and that race tension is to be the last problem of the human species, the producers are under some obligation to cope with the issue. The closing shot of Harry Belafonte, Inger Stevens and Mel Ferrer walking arm in arm down Wall Street toward a new day of brotherhood suggests a *ménage à trois* solution that can scarcely be what M.G.M. had in mind. But what, if anything, did it have in mind?

And yet—don't miss this picture. In the first place, the technical virtuosity is mesmeric. By working in the early morning hours and by enlisting the cooperation of the New York traffic police, the picture can roam, it seems entirely at random, through an absolutely empty New York. Belafonte, the first on the scene, arrives by outboard motor from New Jersey (the George Washington Bridge and the Lincoln Tunnel are blocked by abandoned cars), walks up through the financial district yelling, "Is anybody there?" and hearing his voice echo away to silence in the surrounding canyons. He gets a handcart, piles into it some pilfered canned goods and plods up Broadway, firing a pistol, shouting, stopping in the middle of the avenue to light a fire and cook a hobo meal. The illusion is perfect—nothing moves except old newspapers blowing in the street (I understand that someone saw gulls, but I missed them). And the effect, I need hardly add, is considerably more creepy than the exploits of all those improbable monsters which have been haunting the movie houses recently.

Then, when Belafonte finally makes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contact with Miss Stevens (she has been spying on him in fearful secret for days), the tension that rises between them is both credible and moving. The race problem is raised, not by the white girl, but by the black man. He cannot accept equality by elimination, and though he believes that the girl loves him without reservation, he believes also that she would not have allowed herself to love him in the old live world. He is unreasonable, he knows that he is, but he suffers from a conditioning not subject to reason. And then, when his reverse prejudice is about to give way to circumstance and love, he picks up voices on the short wave. Somewhere in the world men are alive—very probably they are white men.

After Mel Ferrer chugs into town in a small motor sailer from South America, the picture disintegrates. M.G.M. finds it lacks the nerve to bless the Belafonte-Stevens union, and Ferrer has been cast in a role of such priggish superiority that the audience would riot if the girl fell to him. So after an inconclusive duel—fought through the empty city and not avoiding a bit of obvious irony in front of the U.N. building—the trio shakes hands all around and the picture gives up.

We should be fiercely indignant with a movie that imagines the end of the world in such antiseptic, romantic and irresolute terms, but it is no good pretending that the day dream of falling heir to a deserted New York (deserted, that is, except for one pretty girl) lacks a kind of low but powerful appeal. The film is full of incidental ingenuity and the steps taken by Belafonte, cast as a skilled mechanic and electrician, to make the dead city cozy, are resourceful to the point of wit. I have rarely so enjoyed a picture so deplorable.

A PILING UP of critical adjectives, and the fact that the picture was made by Helmut Kautner, the director previously of *The Devil's General*, led me to *Sky Without Stars*. I was led astray.

The movie falls into the category of propaganda love story, the message being that the East-West barrier in Germany is a dreadful thing because it works great hardship on young lovers. A girl living in East Germany is the mother of a child who has been adopted by his grandparents in West Germany. She cannot cross the border permanently because her own grandparents are feeble and need her care. So she slips over and kidnaps the child, in the process involving a West border guard who falls instantly in love with her. From then on the lovers are constantly skipping back and forth across the allegedly impassable line. The guards on both sides—as it seemed to me—show considerable forbearance, but the young pair persist in calling attention to their illegal movements (going so far in the end as to kill a friendly Russian soldier) and they are finally shot down. Since they are shown to be a pleasant couple, though so chuckleheaded that they could scarcely be trusted to cross the street, this conclusion is as melancholy as it is arbitrary. Even if I could agree that the convenience of lovers is a powerful argument for unifying Germany, I would question whether *Sky Without Stars* proves the present situation a serious obstacle to romance. The picture rides its thesis straight into the teeth of plausibility, which is the way with propaganda disguised as art.

I would not leave the impression that Herr Kautner is an unregenerate or unreflective German nationalist. His picture contains a good many touches—for example, the smug and greasy prosperity of the West German grandparents, or the propensity of Germans to serve democracy or communism (authority, in a word) with equal diligence—that show him concerned for the morale of his people. At the same time, his film is suffused with obsessive self-pity, as well as with the suggestion that, in simple justice, a people so good and so industrious ought to be allowed to win a war once in a while. *Sky Without Stars* will make some viewers wish once again that the German memory were longer.

Bread

As florid berries to the oak, should I pin
sequins to this Rockland County bouquet
of bare twigs?—as roses
to pineboughs?—While a primrose-yellow
apple, flushed with success, levitates quietly
in the top right-hand corner of a small canvas,
giving pleasure by its happiness?
But these are thin pleasures, to content
the contented. For hunger:
the bare stretching thorny branches that may never speak
though they conceal or half-reveal
sharp small syllables of bud; and the ragged laughter
—showing gaps between its teeth—
of the anonymous weeds, towsle-heads,
yellow-brown like the draggled undersides of
dromedary and llama basking
proud and complete in airy wedges
of April sun—something
of endurance, to endure
ripeness if it come, or suffer
a slow spring with lifted head—
a good crust of brown bread for the hungry.

DENISE LEVERTOV

Editorial Anthology
THE CAR OF AMERICA

- is a journal which presents complete editorials from the foreign press. Each issue deals, in English translation, with a timely topic of international significance.

A staff of experts provide a rewarding experience - stimulating, diverse and provocative - a new insight into world affairs.

Send $3.00 for a 10 issue trial to:
White Publishing (Room 700)
510 Madison Ave., N.Y. 22, N.Y.

HOW TO PUBLISH YOUR BOOK

Join our successful authors in a complete publishing program: publicity, advertising, lovely books. Send for FREE manuscript report and copy of How To Publish Your Book.
COMET PRESS BOOKS
Write Dept. NA-6
200 Varick Street, New York 14

Buy Your Books through *The Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book (except paperbacks) at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss O. LePach
THE READER'S SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VACATIONS

BLUE SKY LODGE

POTTERSVILLE, N.Y.

On Schroon Lake In the Adirondacks • Open JUNE 29

Private Beach, Boats, Fishing. Tennis and All Sports. Square and Folk Dancing. Organized activities for Children's Day Camp.

Dietary Laws—Entertainment

Adult rates $55-$75 — Children $35-$45

HYMAN E. GOLDIN

1547 45th St., Brooklyn 19, N.Y.

Phones: GE 8-0164 - IN 9-1418 - IV 6-5002

HILLBERG FARM

Kerhonkson, N.Y. • Kerhonkson 8008W

(90 mi. from N.Y.C. via Thruway)

High, open country with beautiful views. Wonderful walking country along unfrequented roads, paths and woodland trails. Swimming in a delightful pond and also in a natural brook pool. Excellent food. Neat, comfortable, modern rooms. All at prices to fit your budget.

The Perfect Place for a Rest from the Clatter and Jangle of the City

— RESERVE NOW! —

MERRIEWOODE

FOR ADULTS

Highland Lake • Stoddard, N.H.

Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation • Enjoy beautiful, 10-mile Lake • All Land and Water Sports, featuring Water Skiing and Excellent Tennis • Interesting Hiking Objectives thru Woodland Trails • Square, Folk & Social Dancing • Planned Evening Programs • Opportunity to participate in Dramatic Performances • Fine Food • Non-Sectarian • Write for Picture Folder N.

OLIVE "Hattie" BARON, Director

Tel.: HIlltop 6-3349

Open June 27

Reserve Now for July 4th Weekend

Arrowhead LODGE Ellenville N. Y.

RON & NAMA

Entertainment Staff, Social, Folk & Square Dancing, Painting, Arts & Crafts, Fast Tennis Courts, Fishing & All Sports. **Low June Rates.**

CALL DE 2-4578 — ELLENVILLE 502

LETTERS

(Continued from inside cover)

hypocrisy and deceit manifest in the culture and the bearers of the culture — college institutions included. This is not to make a mockery of the fact that some revolt because of problems emanating from earlier periods in life. Even here a sound psychiatry must see a patient in relation to the institutions which mediate the social structure.

The difference in approach is vital. When we see adolescence as a very vital period of questioning and testing preparatory to adult life, then we must say: What is *our* responsibility as educators and parents in guiding youth? Must he — or is it rather, we too — who must change so that his image of us and our society is not a mockery of our own shortcomings?

SHELDON ZULKOWITZ
Membership Director YMHA

New York City

Dear Sirs: I would deserve the "very serious criticism" of which your correspondent writes if I thought that the older generation and social institutions could readily change or be changed. Of course, exactly the reverse is true. Unfortunately, the aging process is universally attended not only by growth and experience, but also by the tendency to ossify. No one, including myself, welcomes the latter. But we are foolhardy indeed and open to trouble when we insist that adolescents prematurely ossify, too. William James commented that he knew of cases of old-fogeyism that began at twenty-five.

I must often point out to students who are complaining of their elders that psychiatrists are not generally very optimistic about the capacity for change in those at middle age or beyond, however desirable such change may be.

LOUIS E. REIK, M.D.

Princeton, N.J.

IF YOU DON'T GO ABROAD, LET US BRING THE WORLD TO YOU

at WORLD FELLOWSHIP CENTER, near Conway, N. H.

Combine Recreation, Fellowship and Discussion at our Forest-Lake-Mountain Estate. Meet people from other lands.

First three weeks of summer program:

June 22-26: Our Part in Building a World Fellowship for Peace. Willard Uphaus, Discussion Leader.

June 29-July 4: Everybody Talks About Freedom. A series of lectures by Scott Nearing.

July 6-10: What Are We Doing About Making Democracy Work At Home? Planning that will lead to full employment civil rights, integration. What is a coherent progressive program in an era of automation and atomic energy? Dr. Royal W. France, and others, to speak.

OUR VACATION PLUS includes swimming, hiking, folk-dancing, summer theatre, excursions to the mountains. Generous family-style meals. Meals, room, program, $5.50 to $8.00 daily. Family rates. For details about our entire summer program, write:

WORLD FELLOWSHIP **Conway, New Hampshire**

HELP THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS TO HELP THEMSELVES

(See The Nation, May 30, 1959)

Join and support the

Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc.

Membership $3 or more—Subscription to MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK included.

College Box 2000, Berea, Kentucky

PUBLICATIONS

A NEW KIND OF BOOK CLUB. Exclusively paperbound books. Anything bound in paper we probably have. Send for our NEW Paperbound Catalog FREE. **Paperbound Shop, P.O. Box A61, Wantagh, N.Y.**

GOOD USED BOOKS, 50c-$1
Postal brings free lists
Editions, Desk N, Hempstead, N.Y.

A COMMITTED NEWS REVIEW. By Air from England. 22 weeks trial—$3. **Manchester Guardian Weekly, 20 East 53 St., Room 310, New York 22, N.Y.**

SERVICES

MOVING? Professional moving at competitive rates. Anytime, anywhere. Licensed, insured, experienced. **THE COVERED WAGON, ALgonquin 5-1788 (NYC).**

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS — economical, insured, household moving. Vans, station wagons. Any day, any time. **The Padded Wagon. AL 5-8343 (N.Y.C.)**

PIANOS NEEDED

NON-PROFIT CAMP for deprived and physically handicapped children (interracial, interreligious) desperately needs donation of pianos. Shipping arrangements will be made. **Box 475, c/o The Nation.**

PERSONALS

AIR CONDITIONER — 7.5 AMP, 1 HP. Special—net—$168.00. **Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Ave., N.Y. (near 14th St.), GR 3-7819.** 1 hour free parking.

HELP WANTED

SECRETARY-STENOGRAPHER assist director non-profit children's camp. 9:30 A.M. to 3:30 P.M. Good at detail. West Side office. **Box 474, c/o The Nation.**

SUMMER RENTAL

HOUSEKEEPING Bungalow in Pennsylvania Dutch country. Write: **Mrs. Ann Wunthal, R.D. 1, Danielsville, Pa.**

The Best Way To Get *The Nation*

THE NATION
333 Sixth Ave., New York 14

☐ One Year, $8
☐ Two Years, $14
☐ Three Years, $20
☐ 6 Months, $4

☐ Bill Me ☐ Payment Enclosed

(Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra)

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

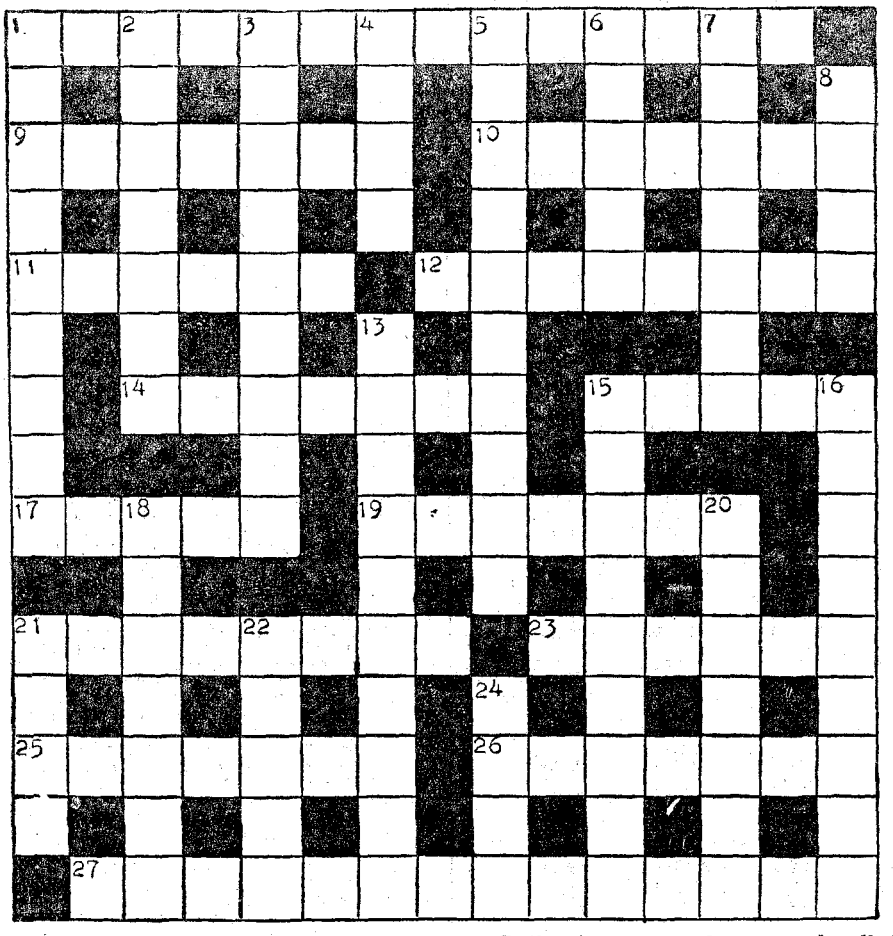
CITY ..... ZONE ..... STATE .....

6-13-59

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 824

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 and 8 down The outside coat of wood rises mistakenly, as one might in error. (4, 2, 3, 5,4)
9 Go such a long way from here to find them! (7)
10 Soft wood should be sounder! (7)
11 Almost a peer in one state. (6)
12 A rousing bit of music? (8)
14 See 15 down
15 Only a fool would take time for 12 in India. (5)
17 More like shooting, by comparison. (5)
19 How a thing might be changed in today's follower? (7)
21 If one prizes anything, this might help! (8)
23 If he uses kimonos, you might be surprised to find him in it! (6)
25 Some find it fun, but can a stamen make it without people? (7)
26 A means of transportation I have found rather unflattering. (7)
27 Learn them, and an old timer will prove the right sort! (11, 3)

DOWN:

1 and 21 down Proverbially good, but you can't chalk it up to experience. (9, 4)
2 Does this argument come up every season? (7)
3 Pluto's her stuff, it seems! (9)
4 Pitchers should be able to do it in their sleep. (4)
5 Delivering a speech — not locally! (10)
6 Routine, without getting in the way. (5)
7 Little nips. (7))
8 See 1 across
13 Copper one gets to evaluate in some degree. (10)
15 and 14 across Starts out bearing something that ends up in the drink! (9, 7)
16 The ring moves eccentrically, as a crooked ruler might. (9)
18 Getting even this is supposed to be sweet. (7)
20 The hydrogen isotope of mass number 3. (7)
21 See 1 down
22 If you bow and scrape, this should help. (5)
24 To say goodbye isn't everything! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 823

ACROSS: 1 Grant; 4 Trilogies; 9 Outline; 10 and 11 Scatterguns; 13 Once; 16 Immoral; 17 and 25 Sound as a bell; 19 Fathoms; 22 Briefly; 24 and 12 Generally; 26 Mimi; 29 Arizona; 30 Inveigh; 31 and 4 down English on the ball; 32 Lasts. DOWN: 1 Good grief; 2 Antonym; 3 Thin; 5 Insults; 6 Olaf; 7 Intoned; 8 Serve; 14 Brood; 15 Cupid; 18 Skylights; 20 Tending; 21 Sabbath; 22 Billion; 23 Fairies; 24 Graze; 27 Loci; 28 Evil.

VACATIONS

GREEN ACRES LODGE
Central Valley, N.Y. Tel.: Wabash 8-2291
1½ Miles from Exit #16 — N.Y.S. Thruway
A delightful hotel in the Ramapos
Filtered Swimming Pool, all weather tennis, golf, square-folk & social dancing, movies, counsellor supervision, excellent food.
OPEN ALL YEAR • Only 45 mi. N.Y.C.

ONLY 50 MILES FROM N.Y.C.
RELAX in a friendly atmosphere. Golf at a magnificent Country Club. Dancing. Entertainment. Superb cuisine. Fireproof Bldg. Elevator service. In N.Y.C. call at local rate.
FAirbanks 5-7227
MAhopac 8-3449
FOREST house
LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y.

PINECREST IN THE BERKSHIRES
W. Cornwall, Conn. : On Housatonic River
A delightful vacation resort near Tanglewood, Music Mt., Summer Theatres. Sandy beach, swimming, fishing, boating; tennis, badminton, ping-pong. Lovely lawns for relaxing. Delicious food. Cabins with private bath and fireplaces.
Diana & Abe Berman — NYC Phone: MO 2-3003

WINDY HILL ON ORANGE LAKE Tel.: Newburgh 1232
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Swimming, Boating, Fishing on Natural Lake. Badminton, Volley Ball, Ping-pong, other sports. Records, books. Summer Theatre, Golf nearby. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. $55.00 Weekly; $8.00 Daily; Weekend: Fri. Supper thru Sun. Dinner $16.
1½ hrs. from N.Y.C. via Thruway
Jane C. Arenz, R.D. No. 1, Walden, N.Y.

LUXURIOUS TIMBER LAKE FRONT ESTATE in the tall pine country of the Northern Adirondacks. All sports, including golf. Superb continental cuisine, personalized dining service. Informal. Limited to 40 couples. Brochure, information. SEVEN KEYS LODGE, 120 Central Park South, N.Y. 19, CIrcle 5-8077.
Alice Garlen-Sam Garlen, Directors

Crystal Lake Lodge
IN THE ADIRONDACKS
A YEAR OF FESTIVITY
Our 40th year in the fine art of vacationing + New York State's 150th Anniversary = festive events at and around Crystal Lake for '59. Opening June 5th. 1500 woodland acres, 60 acre private lake, water-skiing, 9 pro clay tennis courts, canoeing, boating, all sports. Low June rates. Reserve now. Owned and operated by the Slutsky family.
CHESTERTOWN 5, N.Y.
Phones: 3830 N.Y.C. LU 5-1678

Advertising Rates
CLASSIFIED
74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
The NATION
333 Sixth Ave., New York 14, N.Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by RCR Publication Printers Corp., N. Y. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UNUSUAL BOOKS

Exciting books for the whole family! New books from leading publishers, many at bargain prices. Limited quantities.

1. **HOW TO TELL FISH FROM FISHERMEN, Or, A Plague on Both Your Houses.** Ed Zorn's hilarious anecdote-filled, cartoon-peppered humor classic that has been called the funniest fishing book ever published. Contents include: How to Amuse a Fish, The Shaggy Fish Story, The Sex Life of Fishermen, How to Play Tennis, etc. etc. etc. If you merely want to laugh, this is your book! Pub. at $3 **Sale: $1**

2. **The War of 1812—POLTROONS AND PATRIOTS, by G. Tucker.** The magnificent two-volume history, boxed and illustrated—a vivid, exciting recreation of the issues, battles, and personalities, Jefferson, Madison, Tecumseh, et al. Pub. at $10. **Last few sets only $6.95**

3. **THE SPIRIT OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION, by Judge R. Wilkin.** The uses and abuses of law by judges, lawyers and politicians, from the days of Rome right up to the present. **$1.98**

4. **THE HEBREW IMPACT ON WESTERN CIVILIZATION.** Science, exploration, religion, democracy, education—how these crucial fields have been influenced by the Jewish people. **$1.98**

5. **ARTIST'S MODELS,** by John Evared. Over 1,200 superb art studies of the human figure—every conceivable pose, position and action the artist must need. Contents: 500 photos of posed nudes; 100 five-minute sketch poses, etc. 8"x11". Handsomely produced. Import. **$10**

6. **FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT AT HYDE PARK,** by Olin Dows. A life-long friend of FDR tells the fascinating story of his boyhood and later years in 174 superb drawings and sparkling text. Pub. at $5. **Sale: $2.98**

7. **F.D.R.: COLUMNIST.** Here are the hitherto uncollected writings of Roosevelt as a substitute newspaper columnist. A candid snapshot. **$1.95**

8. **BETTER HEARING,** by L. Brentano. Practical guidance for the hard-of-hearing. Dozens of ways to overcome the handicap of weakened hearing. Illus. Stiff wrappers. **$1.49**

9. **FOUNDATIONS FOR LIVING.** This richly-illustrated 615 page book was written to be used as a text book in high school home economic classes. Topics covered include: home management. child care, personal grooming, consumer buying, and home furnishing. Chock full of recipes, sewing hints, personality pointers, and everything else a young housewife needs to know. A vital reference book. Pub. at $4. **Sale: $1.49**

10. **MUTINY IN JANUARY.** Carl Van Doren's story of a crisis in the Continental army—now for the first time fully told from many hitherto unknown sources. Illus. Pub at $16. **$2.98**

11 **SEX: METHODS AND MANNERS.** By Dr. L. Berg and R. Street. The most direct straightforward guide to achieving sex happiness in marriage ever written. Controversial and startling in parts, this book will alert even the most jaded. Illustrated. **$3.50**

12. **SOVIETISM: The ABC of Russian Bolshevism According to the Bolshevists.** Here are copious extracts from the Soviet Constitution, and Decrees, Lenin's speeches, Gorky, etc. Out-of-print for 38 years. A few copies. **$1.49**

13. **LORD ARTHUR SAVILLE'S CRIME,** by Oscar Wilde. A delightful tale, as only Wilde could tell it. Illustrated with wood engravings in color. Large. Boxed. **LTD. EDN. $2.98**

14. **THE GREAT CHARLIE CHAPLIN.** A lively biography of the Tramp, by Robert Payne. A penetrating look at the world's famous comedian—with 19 memorable stills from such Chaplin classics as "The Gold Rush," "Modern Times," "City Lights." Pub. at $4. **$1.98**

15. **LEADERS AND LEADERSHIP,** by E. Bogardus. Drawing richly from the life records of such world leaders as Edison, FDR, Einstein, Lincoln, and Carnegie the author has written a lucid, penetrating study of the giants of the world and what qualities made them leaders of men. The secrets of what makes a man a leader is detailed in this vital book. Topics include Leadership, Types of Leaders, Heredity, Personality, and a dozen more. Also, 100 World Leaders, Achievements of 100 World Leaders, and A leadership History Guide. Pub. at $4. **Sale: $1.49**

16. **A LITTLE TREASURY OF LOVE POEMS,** Hundreds of lively poems on love, courtship, doubt, infidelity, hurt, sorrow, revenge, etc., by Gay, cummings, D. H. Lawrence and a hundred other great poets. 524 pages. Beautifully bound, handsomely boxed. Pub. at $6. **Sale: $2.98**

17. **HOLIDAY BOOK OF FOOD AND DRINK.** Flavorful, palate-tickling, mouth-watering talk about food and drink. Anecdotes, recipes, feasts. Illustrated. **$2.98**

18. **AN EXHORTATION TO MARRIAGE.** Love Sonnets by William Shakespeare. Beautifully produced, in a handsome golden slipcase. **$1.49**

19. **THE DAILY LIFE OF EARLY CHRISTIANS,** by J. G. Davies. A wealth of vivid, detailed information on the likes and dislikes, superstition and practices of 6 actual "converts" in the ancient world. **$1.98**

20. **THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT.** An absorbing study of the different forms of government today—World Federation, American Democracy, Japanese and German "Democracy" under the occupation, and 15 other vital essays by 18 reknowned political scientists. Used as a text-book in ten universities. Pub. at $6. **Sale: $1.98**

21. **SINFUL CITIES OF THE WESTERN WORLD.** Hendrik de Leeuw's shocking, startling, and revealing book about international traffic in loose women around the world. The reader is taken along on a scarlet tour of the wide open sin cities of the western world as few tourists, if any, ever saw. You visit Algiers, with its wild, abandoned orgies reminiscent of Ancient Rome, to Tangier with the strangest freaks of nature, the Maricones, who cater to the lustful Moors. You are taken through the "red light" city of Bousbir that is like no other. You go with the author to Paris, see its seamy brothels, its Virgin peep shows. Berlin, with its sexhibitions unique in its aberrations. These are only some of the places in some of the cities that the reader is transported to through the pages of this lively book. **$3.95**

22. **THE MAN BEHIND THE CAMERA,** ed. by H. Gernsheim, 54 magnificent full-paged reproductions by the modern masters of camera art—their finest work. Beaton, Hoppe, et al. **$2.50**

23. **MATISSE. 10 full-color prints,** ideal for framing. Text by B. Schneider. 10x13. **$1.98**

24. **THE STORY OF SCIENCE.** David Dietz's clearly written book for the layman, covering the four great divisions of science: astronomy, biology, geology, physics and chemistry The story of the Universe, the Earth, the Atom and Life. Illustrated. Charts, index, etc. **$1.49**

25. **SELECTED WRITINGS OF DE SADE.** Copious extracts from such notorious works as **JUSTINE, JULIETTE,** and other forbidden classics make up this volume of debauchery. **$4.95**

26. **OUR INVISIBLE FRIENDS.** Maurice Allen's astounding scientific experiment with the spirit world—the account of his psychic shuttling "between two world"! Scarce. **$3.95**

27. **The Art of VAN GOGH. 32 color plates.** A superb collection of oils and watercolors, handsomely reproduced. 6¼ x 8¼". **$1.98**

28. **THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. A History and An Argument,** by Col. Robert R. McCormick. Scarce and unusual. **$1.49**

29. **AUTO-EROTISM.** By Wilhelm Stekel. Numerous case histories. A study on masturbation, challenging the superstitutions and half-truths concerning this sexual practice. **$4.98**

30. **CHURCHILL: HIS LIFE IN PHOTOGRAPHS.** Fascinating photo-biography of the most astounding man of our time. 400 pictures, many never published before. Published at $7.50. **$2.98**

31. **AMERICAN JEWS IN WORLD WAR II.** by I. Kaufman. The story of 600,000 fighters for freedom in two massive volumes. Almost one thousand pages. Published at $10. **Sale $2.98**

32. **WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.** Here in a masterpiece of fine bookmaking, is one of the most moving and touching orations in the history of mankind. **Golden Eagle Press. $1.49**

33. **e. e. cummings—EIMI: JOURNAL OF A TRIP TO RUSSIA.** One of the most remarkable travel diaries of our time, written in brilliant prose by one of our foremost poets. Witty, intensely human impressions of the spiritual and intellectual climate of Russia. **Special: $2.98**

34. **SEXUAL ABERRATIONS,** by Wilhelm Steckel. The classic work on the disorders of the instincts and emotions, with particular reference to fetishism in all its puzzling and fascinating variety. Many cases described at length. 2 volumes. **$9.95**

35. **History of the Korean War: DECISION IN KOREA, by R. Poats.** Here, in an eye-witness story, is the first complete report of the Korean War. Maps. **$1.98**

36. **THE CREATIVE MIND.** The last of Henri Bergson's works. A few copies. **$2.98**

37. **LINCOLN IN CARICATURE.** A rich collection of 163 full-page caricatures—some extremely rare, some extremely shocking. Large volume. Pub. at $7.50. **$2.98**

38. **THE PRIVATE LIVES OF THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF WINDSOR.** Norman Lockridge's explosive book that the New York Police Department had suppressed. Inside stories never told before. The Duke of Windsor's struggle with some of the most harrowing weaknesses to afflict the human flesh. Illus. Paper cover. **$2.00**

39. **LINCOLN IN MARBLE AND BRONZE,** by F. Bullard. How the great sculptors have seen the immortal President is revealed in this fascinating account, along with 68 vivid photos of the most famous sculptures. Published at $12.50. Last few copies without jackets. **$2.98**

$1.25 each — 5 for $5 — 11 for $10

A1. **LET'S UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER,** by E. R. Wembridge. A clearly written psychological survey on the drives of life—Ego Satisfaction, sex satisfaction, frustration, etc.

A2. **HOW TO BUILD A STAMP COLLECTION,** by P. Thorp. From the acquisition of the first stamp to the preparation of the finished collection.

A3. **NATIONALITY & ITS PROBLEMS,** by S. Herbert. A penetrating study of nationalism, with a history up to the League of Nations.

A4. **SATIRE AGAINST HUSBANDS.** A Rabelaisian tale of marital strife. Illus. in color.

A5. **THE VINDICATION OF WIVES.** Perrault's ribald classic, illustrated in color.

A6. **THE TWO BROTHERS OF DIFFERENT SEX.** A story from the Chinese. Illus. in color.

A7. **Albert Einstein: THE WORLD AS I SEE IT.** Life, the World, God, his work, etc.

A8. **Robert Service's RHYMES OF A REBEL.** The swing and vigor, with all the lusty humor that made Robert Service the Poet Laureate of the vagabonds.

A9. **STARS IN YOUR KITCHEN:** A cookbook of favorite recipes of 148 famous celebrities, Eisenhower, Truman, Duke of Windsor.

A10. **COMMUNIST TRAIL IN AMERICA.** Jacob Spolansky's detailed account of spying and subversion in our own back yard. Pub. $4.

A11. **RACE AND NATIONALITY: An Inquiry into the Origin & Growth of Patriotism,** by J. Oaksmith. Controversial, challenging.

A12. **OUR CHILDREN ARE CHEATED:** Ben Fine's indictment of American education.

A13. **Birth Control: Race Suicide—THE AMERICAN IDEA?** by L. F. Commander. The small family: race development or race suicide?

A14. **CENSORED MOTHER GOOSE RHYMES.** Dedicated to The Censors: who have taught us to read naughty meanings into harmless words.

A15. **THE TRIAL OF JESUS,** by John Masefield. Stirring play presenting the closing scenes of Jesus' life. Vivid drama.

A16. **COSMIC COMMONWEALTH,** by Edmond Holmes. "God", nature, man, and the world are looked at in this penetrating, thought-provoking book. Damaged bindings.

A17. **FIGHTING WORDS.** An anthology of great words to live by—from the Greeks.

A18. **SCIENCE OF CHARACTER & DESTINY.** A book written after years of occult research.

A19. **THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF SEXUAL BEHAVIOR.** Spiritual meaning of sexual intercourse.

A20. **THE LOVE SEEKER: A Sentimental Handbook.** Finding A Mate, How to Please a Man, The Terrors of Love, etc.

A21. **THIS IS IKE: THE PICTURE STORY OF THE MAN.** 264 of the most meaningful photos.

A22. **RELIGIOUS FAITH, LANGUAGE AND KNOWLEDGE,** by B. Kimpel. A remarkable study.

A23. **John Dewey's PROBLEMS OF MEN.** Selected writings of the great American philosopher.

LIST ONE ALTERNATE TITLE ON THIS SECTION

FREE!! With every order over $5 we will include free THE WORLD SENSORIAN, Prof. O. L. Reiser's forceful study of World Federation —a coming planetary civilization, uniting the religion of the East with the Technology of the West. Published at $3.50.

WORLD WIDE BOOK SERVICE, 525 Broadway, New York 12

Gentlemen: Please send me, postage prepaid, the books numbered below. I understand if my order is over $5 I will receive ABSOLUTELY FREE THE WORLD SENSORIAN. I enclose $..... N4

.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED